

JPRS-EER-87-133

2 SEPTEMBER 1987



**FOREIGN  
BROADCAST  
INFORMATION  
SERVICE**

---

# ***JPRS Report***

## **East Europe**

---

2 SEPTEMBER 1987

## EAST EUROPE

## CONTENTS

## POLITICAL

## ALBANIA

Report on Visit of Linguists to Denmark (Shaban Demiraj; ZERI POPULLIT, 28 Apr 87) .....	1
Treachery of Shehu, Others Recalled in Hoxha Tribute (Pirro Kondi; BASHKIMI, 11 Apr 87) .....	5
Shortcomings in Military Unit Discussed by Party Committee (Lefter Hasanaj; ZERI I POPULLIT, 28 Apr 87) .....	10
Many Meetings, Poor Results in Health Propaganda (Musa Ulqini; ZERI I POPULLIT, 8 Apr 87) .....	13
Deficiencies in Ministry of Domestic Trade Analyzed (Thimi Nika; ZERI I POPULLIT, 8 Apr 87) .....	15

## BULGARIA

Dimitrov Communist Youth Union Statute (NARODNA MLADEZH, 13 May 87) .....	19
--	----

## HUNGARY

'HungaroHomes' To Be Built Near Budapest for U.S. Citizens (Gyorgy Aczel Interview; MAGYAR NEMZET, 8 Jun 87) .....	36
---	----

Objective Historical Study of Former Ruling Class Assayed (Janos Jozsef Gudenus, Laszlo Szentirmay; VALOSAG, No 5, 1987) .....	38
HISTORY OF TRANSYLVANIA Writers Discuss Methods, Sources (Bela Kopeczi Interview, et al.; KRITIKA, May 87) .....	47
Lack of Organization Plagues 'Hungaroring' Race Track (Zoltan Asztalos; HETI VILAGGAZDASAG, 23 May 87) .....	59
POLAND	
Western Academic's Book on Polish History Discussed (Adam Bromke Interview; ZYCIE WARSZAWY, 15 Apr 87) .....	61
Letter Criticizes New History of Poznan 1956 Events (Andrzej Choniawko; POLITYKA, No 19, 9 May 87) .....	65
Commentary on History, Attributes of 'Collectivism' (Wlodzimierz Milanowski; TRYBUNA LUDU, 14 May 87) .....	66
Inept, Corrupt Party Cadre Blamed for Reform Difficulties (Zygmunt Rola; POLITYKA, No 19, 9 May 87) .....	70
Workers Discuss Party Authority in Factories (Zbigniew Maciag; TRYBUNA LUDU, 12 May 87) .....	75
OPZZ Executive Committee on Labor Safety (TRYBUNA LUDU, 14 May 87) .....	76
Self-Management Commission Studies Two Departments (RZECZPOSPOLITA, 10 Apr 87) .....	80
Briefs	
Correspondent on Polish Values	82
Historical Social Divisions Noted	82
Council Members Behavior Described	82
Interest in Workers Doubted	83
'Parkinson's Law' in Centralization	83

## ECONOMIC

### CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Basic Developments of Light Industry in 8th 5-Year Plan (Milan Drazdil; PLANOVANE HOSPODARSTVI, No 4, 1987) .....	84
Anniversary of Small Growers' Organization (LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE, 19 May 87) .....	97

SOCIAL

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

- Drinking Habits Analyzed at Treatment Center  
(Jana Schillingova; SVOBODNE SLOVO, 11 Apr 87) ..... 99

HUNGARY

- Official Attempts To Address Gypsy Problems Described  
(Istvan Kovacs Interview; OTLET, 7 May 87) ..... 103
- Gypsies, Occasional Laborers Tied to Rising Crime Rate  
(Andras Turos Interview; NEPSZABADSAG, 13 May 87) ..... 108
- Gypsies Called Responsible for Half of Violent Crimes  
(Laszlo Karsai, Istvan Soos; ELET ES IRODALOM, 8 May 87) 112
- Education of Gypsy Children Called Inadequate  
(Gyongyi Racz Interview; ELET ES IRODALOM, 15 May 87) ... 116

/7310



## REPORT ON VISIT OF LINGUISTS TO DENMARK

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 28 Apr 87 pp 3, 4

[Article by Shaban Demiraj: "Among Colleagues and Friends--Notes From Denmark"]

[Text] In the framework of cultural and scientific exchanges between Albanian and Denmark, during the first 2 weeks of April, Prof Androkli Kostallari and I went to deliver lectures on the Albanian language at the universities of Copenhagen and Aarhus. We were the first Albanian linguists who had the honor to represent our new linguistics in the two largest universities, where distinguished linguists have worked, whose reputation has since a long time gone beyond the borders of this country, such as Rasmus Rask, one of the founders of comparative Indo-European linguistics; Karl Verner, one of the most distinguished Germanic linguists; Holder Pedersen one of the greatest Albanologists and, at the same time, one of the most distinguished Indo-Europeanists; Kristian Sandfeld, one of the founders of the comparative Balkan linguistics; Otto Jespersen and [following as given] Luis Hjelmslev, Vigo Brendal and Knud Togeby and others. Also, through the exchange of letters and meetings with some Danish professors in Tirana we had learned that in these two universities a new generation of future linguists was studying and that the old tradition of interest in the Albanian language was being renewed. As a matter of fact, we had learned that efforts were being made to have the Albanian language one of the foreign languages at the University of Copenhagen, which it is hoped will be done soon.

Therefore, our interest in having a greater knowledge of the work carried out in these two universities in various fields of linguistics was comprehensive. And we can admit with pleasure that the interest of our Danish colleagues to know more closely about the achievements and level of the new Albanian language was no less than ours. For us, Albanian linguists, this visit was also a very suitable occasion to remember in our lectures, with honor, but this time in their fatherland, the names of the great Danish linguist Holger Pedersen who has collected and published very beautiful materials on our popular creativity and has made very valuable studies about "the beautiful and powerful language" of the "noble Albanian nation."

In our lectures, we treated the themes: "The formation of the national Albanian literary language and its tendencies to development in our times," "the Albanian language in the present time" by (A. Kostallari) and also "the Albanian language in its historical evolution" and "some matters about the Balkan language on the basis of data of the Albanian language" (by Sh. Demiraj). As you see, the

themes of our lectures were combined so that they provide as complete a picture as possible of the most fundamental problem of the present Albanian language and of its history. In these lectures, along with sound data in regard to the road pursued for the formation of the unified Albanian literary language and the historical evolution of this language, relevant documentation was also provided raising great interest among the participants. The participants, mainly Romance Languages Linguists, Slavicists, Balkanists and Indo-Europeanists attentively followed these lectures and asked questions about some theoretical matters dealing with the formation of the Albanian literary language and with the road of the historical evolution of this old Balkan language.

Along with the lectures which, so to speak, constituted the official part of our work program in Denmark, we also had some other meetings with our Danish colleagues, with whom we had the opportunity to discuss the most varied linguistic matters in the field of Romance, Slavic, Balkan and Indo-European linguistics, it is understood that a large part of these discussions was devoted to theoretical matters dealing with the present Albanian language, its history and its relationships with its neighboring languages.

Moreover, these matters also constituted the main theme of a fine meeting with some activists of the Danish-Albanian Friendship Society in Copenhagen. In general, our Danish colleagues and friends expressed very warm appreciation for present-day Albanian linguistics which they called as a serious science which has enlightened and solved, in a new manner, difficult scientific problems and which, during the past 40 years has also constituted to the further development of the Balkan linguistics and linguistic theory.

As soon as we arrived in Denmark, and during all our stay there, we felt a warm hospitality which reminded us of the Albanian traditional hospitality. Our old friend Prof Gunnar Svane, a well known Slavicist, studious and zealous transcriber of Pjeter Budi's works, warmly received us at the Copenhagen airport and took us immediately to Aarhus where the very evening he organized a very friendly reception for us. This reception was quickly transformed into a very fruitful scientific discussion with some known Aarhus university professors, such as Jergen Shmit Jensen [as given]. Poul Skaarup and others, no less friendly were the other receptions at the rectorate and Slavic Department of Aarhus University and at the rectorate and information center of the Higher Trade School, where some foreign languages are taught with the most modern equipment.

Such friendly receptions of scientific interest were also given to us in Copenhagen by professors Sysse, Engberg, Minna Jensen and Balkan studies specialist Jern Ivar Kuonje who visited our country and who took all measures to make our stay in Copenhagen as fruitful as possible. There, we visited some university institutes such as the Institute of Modern Greek and of Balkan studies and others where we met and had talks with specialists in various fields of linguistics. In Copenhagen, we visited the Royal Library, one of the richest in Europe. There, they keep valuable books and handwritings of various centuries, including those of H. Pedersen. They also have a rich collection of handwritings collected by the Arberesh scholar G.T. Gangale. These handwritings "are waiting" to be explored and to be studied carefully, certainly, they may have valuable things which can help to know better the activity of the Arberesh of Italy during the past centuries.

In Aarhus, as in Copenhagen, we had the occasion to meet many friends and well-wishers of our country. Unforgettable will be the reception by Anders Kock, professor of mathematics at Aarhus University and branch director of the Danish-Albanian Friendship Society for Aarhus City and the reception by and meeting with the activists of the Danish-Albanian Friendship Society at the home of Mari Ann Pedersen, the chairman of this society, and others in Copenhagen. Deep impressions were left on us by the efforts of the activists of the Friendship Society and the Marxist-Leninist Party of Denmark to promote and make known in their country the great achievements in our country in the various fields of production, arts, culture and so forth, especially through the daily newspaper "Arheideren" [The Worker] and the magazine "Albanien" [as given] and recently through a small radio station that transmitted no less than 4 hours per day.

They were doing a very good work by publishing some of Comrade Enver's works, Comrade Ramiz Alia's speeches and other materials of our party, translated into Danish.

In Denmark, our country is being increasingly better known through the publication of some of Ismail Kadare's and Dritero Agolli's works in the Danish language. Another novel by Dritero Agolli is expected to be published soon; this novel is translated from English by well known Danish writer J.M. Pedersen who has visited our country on two occasions and who speaks fondly about our country. Good work in this direction is also done in our country by publishing in Albanian some works by well known Danish writers, such as Hans Christian Andersen and others.

From the publication of these short writings, it is clear to see more or less the warmth of the hospitality of our Danish colleagues and friends. This warm and sincere hospitality was, first of all, an expression of respect for the country which we had the honor to represent and because now the Danish people were aware of the great transformations and achievements in Albania during these decades of the era of socialism. And, the readers can imagine the great satisfaction we felt when we heard from the mouth of our Danish colleagues and friends their warm and sincere expressions of esteem not only for the new Albanian linguistics, but also for the great achievements in our country in general. And these achievements are so real that some people still cannot believe seeing them. Indeed, it seems "unexpected" that the sons and grandsons of those who were illiterate yesterday, within a short period of time have become capable of building combines and hydroelectric power plants up to European standards with their own forces without owing anything to anyone outside the country and of making important steps forward in the various fields of science, on the theoretical and practical level.

Our Danish friends took great care of us during our stay in their country, showing us the beautiful landscape and some historical centers with old cultural traditions in Denmark. On the way to the small medieval-type town Riba, near the southwestern coast of Jutland, accompanied by Prof Gunnar Svane, we had the occasion to see in Jelling [as given] some stones with the inscriptions in the Runic alphabet, which was the ancient alphabet of the German Peoples. Also, accompanied by our colleague Jern Ivar Kuonje, we

had the occasion to visit some historical centers in Sjælland island, where the capital of the country Copenhagen is located. We have unforgettable impressions from our visit to Elsinore castle on the Oresund straits about five kilometers from the coast of Sweden. As is known, the name of this place has been immortalized by Shakespeare's pen; precisely in the old castle of Elsinore, Shakespear developed the main events of his chief work, "Hamlet," a tragedy which the Albanian reader may have known for a long time through Noli's masterly translation.

We are convinced that our meetings, scientific discussions and friendly talks with our Danish friends and colleagues during our visit in Denmark, as well as the visits, scientific discussions and friendly talks of our Danish colleagues in Albania, will more and more strengthen the scientific cooperation and friendship between the linguistics of the two countries with old historical traditions. And that this fruitful and useful cooperation of the two sides will undoubtedly serve to further develop the friendly relations, understanding and reciprocal feeling between the Albanian and Danish peoples.

9150/12951

CSO: 2100/48



## TREACHERY OF SHEHU, OTHERS RECALLED IN HOXHA TRIBUTE

Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 11 Apr 87 pp 1, 2

[Article by Pirro Kondi, candidate member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Albanian Workers Party: "Enver Hoxha, Great Leader of the Party and People, the Forger of their Political Union"]

[Text] There are people who though they are no longer alive, remain alive in the minds and hearts of the people, are remembered forever in their attention and are exalted from generation to generation. Thus was and will always be Comrade Enver Hoxha, the great and unforgettable leader of our party and people who for nearly half a century accomplished for the happiness of the country what centuries could not have accomplished. The epoch in which he was born and grew up made him such a man; this was the epoch which he understood more than any other man and paved its road as a brilliant thinker and accomplisher.

Our fast moving times, our new history which the people have define in such a meaningful manner--the time of the party--embody the immortal work of the greatest man of the Albanian people and nation during their millenary history. It is inseparable from the name of Enver Hoxha, from his theoretical Marxist-Leninist thinking and practical revolutionary activity.

His image became legendary in one of the most difficult periods that our country and people were passing through when the bloodthirsty fascism put its repugnant boot in our sacred land and when we not only lost our freedom and independence, but also were in danger of being wiped out as a people and a nation.

Enver Hoxha not only enhanced our people, guided them and led them to victory during the giant struggle for the liberation of the country and the guaranty of the fatherland's independence, but also went even further, much further. Leading the party, and together with the party, he linked the liberation struggle with the great struggle for the building of the new and happy socialist life.

The enormous work that made it possible for the Albanian people and socialist Albania to progress ahead--a progress that would have required centuries to be accomplished--started on the glorious November 8, 1941. The Albanian Communist

Party, founded and led by Comrade Enver Hoxha, became the leading body of the people, enlightened the horizons of the country, guided the masses of the people in the struggle with wisdom, courage, clarity and heroism and guided them to the historic victory--the achievement of national and social liberation.

The assurance of the people's unity around the party occupies one of the most important places in the great and wide work of Enver Hoxha. Who called this the golden key of our victories. As a great Marxist-Leninist leader and an ardent patriot, from the moment the party was founded. Enver Hoxha, with an extraordinary clarity of vision and an unshakeable conviction, knew what was required and where it was to go. However, this was neither simple nor easy to achieve. The party's revolutionary program would be implemented only when the great masses of the people in cities and villages, workers, farmers, patriots and intellectuals who loved Albania, when an entire people would be united, very much politically, around their militant leadership, to get rid of the foreign occupiers and to liquidate their tools and when the people would seize power and rise and organize their political government. Enver Hoxha was the inspirer and planner of the ideological, political and military platform of the National Liberation Front, the forger of the political union of the Albanian people around the party and the legendary organizer and leader of the armed struggle of the united people against the occupiers and traitors, the struggle that led to the great victory--the liberation of the country, the establishment of the people's government and the assurance of freedom and real independence.

Enver Hoxha was a distinguished Marxist-Leninist thinker, a great revolutionary leader who, in the leadership of the party and people, knew how to harmonize in an original manner, that National Liberation struggle with the struggle for socialism, and to guarantee an uninterrupted continuation of the development of the people's democratic revolution in the socialist revolution. He became the architect of new socialist Albania, guiding the party and the people toward extraordinary revolutionary transformations and becoming the inspirer of the great work that socialism gave to the people. At the Ninth Party Congress, Comrade Ramiz Alia said: "The name of Albania and the name of Enver Hoxha are inseparable. The new Albanian history has the seal of his distinguished personality, of his theoretical thinking and of his political activity. When our people say that they are faithful to Enver, they express the great fact that their nature and characteristics, their manner of thinking and of acting and their ideals and purposes have been formed in the school of his revolutionary struggle.

Comrade Enver Hoxha treated the matter of unity in a dialectical manner, as any other problem, and not as something that is achieved immediately and forever at some determined levels. He argued in a scientific manner that party unity is a decisive factor for the unity of the people. Every transformation that is carried out is achieved by the people united, and achievements further promote this unity and make it steel-like. This union was achieved and tempered through the development of the class struggle; it has continuously found its powerful expression in the continuing process of strengthening the alliance of the working class with the cooperative peasantry.

The militant union of the people around the party, and his teachings on how to strengthen it in a continuing manner, are the most valuable inheritance left to us by Comrade Enver. Our unity has progressed, is progressing and will progress together with the great and daily process of our work and struggle for the building of socialist society, the fulfillment of the tasks in all fields day after day, week after week, month after month, year after year and from one five-year plan into the other. Social problems occupy a special place in the entire work of the Democratic Front Organizations. In the field of the main problems there are: the relationships among the people, the progress of the socialist way of life, the continuous education of members of our society with the socialist attitude toward work and property, as the assets of our order and well-being, the struggle against foreign manifestations and against those which come from the times, as well as against bourgeois-revisionist pressure. All Democratic Front members are enlisted in the great actions that emerge from the Ninth Party Congress for the execution of the great tasks assigned. For this, the continuing raising of the political awareness of the masses and the struggle against conservative and liberal concepts are essential. The Albanian Democratic Front has been, is and will be the greatest political organization that unites the Albanian people in the great work for the socialist building of the country under the leadership of the party.

One of the special merits of Comrade Enver Hoxha, who assured the continuing development of the revolution and the enjoyment of the fruits of the struggle by the working masses who carried it out, is certainly the fact that he (Hoxha) connected the struggle for liberation insensibly with the establishment of the people's government. Beginning with the National Liberation Councils immediately after the Peza Conference, going up to the Permet Congress and then the Berat meeting which created the Provisional Government, the liberation of Albania found the people's power in all instances, established everywhere over the ruins of the old regime, not only of the occupiers, but also of the oppressor and exploiting classes. This originality in the development of our revolution, in accordance with Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings, is an enrichment with great importance for our Marxist-Leninist Science.

The great successes which we have achieved have led to deep revolutionary transformations for our country and people. They have made our people strong, because it is in their government, the dictatorship of the proletariat, that they saw the fulfillment of the aspirations for which they had fought, disregarding all sacrifices. Comrade Enver formulated and guided the execution of the revolutionary principle of reliance on one's own forces. Socialist Albania owes nothing to anybody. This fact is the reliable road to the safeguarding of true freedom and independence. All these bring happiness to our people, making them more proud, while they enrage their enemies. The enemies did everything in their power to undermine the foundations of the National Liberation Front and the people's power. The treacherous organizations Balli Kombetar and Legaliteti during the war and after the war, all the groups of traitors and plotters from Kori Xoxe to Mehmet Shehu and friends, fully coordinated their forces with the foreign imperialist and revisionist enemies, and followed the road of endless blackmail, of numerous machinations and of known foxiness. But, it was to the great merit of the party, of its founder and leader Enver Hoxha that he gave the proper response to all of them in time; he accepted neither duality nor division of the power with the enemies and

trillars; he admitted neither oscillation nor compromise regarding this major matter; and he proved to be decisive, precise and severe toward them. These farseeing attitudes of great courage and of pure intelligence were illuminating for our people and fatherland.

The Marxist-Leninist teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha are at the foundation of the work of the party for strengthening, perfecting democratizing and revolutionizing the government on a continuous basis. The fate of the people and fatherland are inseparably linked with the existence and continued strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat, therefore close and permanent relationships between the governmental organs and working masses are of vital importance. Democratic centralization is one of the important principles; however, it is promoted in the struggle against bureaucracy, liberalism and technocracy because, while protecting the government from these very bad things, we protect it from the danger of bourgeois-revisionist degeneration. The wider and more active the participation of the masses in the governing of the country is the more thorough and permanent every form of monitoring is, especially worker and farmer monitoring, the stronger the government will be and the more unbreakable the dictatorship of the proletariat will become and the ever more powerful the creative initiative of the masses will be, every where. We are in the second year of the five-year plan and only 5 months have gone by since the Ninth Party Congress. And all the people are engaged in work to fulfill the great tasks. Involved in the revolutionary movement--"Standard bearers of Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings, militants of the implementation of the decisions of the Ninth Party Congress"--our working class and cooperative peasantry are working to fulfill and overfulfill their tasks on the production fronts. The great actions of the masses are: the introduction of new technologies, the achieving of changes in animal husbandry, the increase and invigoration of brigade herds, the better supplying of the people, the work for doubling olive production, the construction of drinking water mains, the delivery of many fine articles to markets and so forth. Our advance is facing great tasks in order to respond with rapid and rational solutions to the problems emerging in production. Literature, culture and the arts are aiming for a qualitative leap in creativity in order to reflect our socialist reality on the ideological and artistic level. Our masses are actively participating in all these activities, in the entire political, ideological, economic and social life of the country. There is no important problem for which our people do not strongly express their opinion and do not struggle conscientiously for its solution. There are not just words, aware participation of the masses that leads to the expansion and strengthening of socialist democracy, the real democracy. Our laws, the Constitution, whose drafting was supervised by Enver Hoxha himself, are among the most democratic; they guarantee all rights to the people and create the necessary conditions for them to execute them.

During the years of socialism, Albania grew and won a name for itself and respect among the people of the world. For this, Enver Hoxha made his contribution as a distinguished statesman and a great diplomat. He worked out our foreign policy based on proletarian principles, a policy as clear as the light of the sun, precise and always in the service of the people and socialism. He taught the party and the people that in foreign policy, too,



they should be completely independent, to speak without shyness and with a loud voice whatever they have to speak. The execution of this revolutionary policy has made it possible for Albania to always have its own opinions and always determine its independent and correct attitude in the interest of the working masses, the building of socialism and the defense of the fatherland.

In the leadership of the party, Comrade Enver Hoxha waged a courageous struggle without swaying to unmask the aggressive policy of American imperialism and Soviet social imperialism and to mercilessly expose modern revisionism of all hues. In all this struggle of an extraordinary importance, writing glorious pages of the history of our country, Comrade Enver taught the people to be always vigilant because, as in the past also today, the danger that comes to the people from the aggressive policy of the superpowers, from revisionism and from reactionaries is a real one.

Two years have elapsed since Enver Hoxha has been physically with us: but he always lives with us, walks with us in every step that we take forward, in every new road that we walk on and in every idea that we plan for the future, Enver Hoxha never stopped working so that Albania may live and progress for centuries. Our glorious party, led by Comrade Ramiz Alia, is leading the people on the road of socialist construction. Albania marches forward, free and independent, continuously strengthening its economy, defense, unity and government. Our party is resolutely implementing its magnificent program of the building of socialism and communism based on Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings with a creative spirit, always adhering to the principles of Marxism-Leninism. A clear expression of progressing according to Enver's teachings on the glorious road of the party, is also the work of the Ninth Party Congress which Comrade Ramiz Alia characterized as the Congress of continuity. The party thinks, works and struggles to continue, without stopping, socialist victories in order to further elevate the glory of our fatherland. Enver Hoxha taught, worked and struggled all his life for these great ideas. He was and will be the banner of the struggle for freedom and socialism.

9150/12951

CSO: 2100/50

## SHORTCOMINGS IN MILITARY UNIT DISCUSSED BY PARTY COMMITTEE

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 28 Apr 87 p 3

[Article by Lefter Hasanaj: "When the Situation of the Unit Is Known and Valued in a Realistic Manner"]

[Text] Some time ago at a military unit two members of the team that had gone there to aid and monitor the apparatus of the party committee of this unit almost all the time of their stay there dealt with matters concerning the improvement of the living and working conditions. Why was it so? Truly, this was somehow an unexpected action, because the monitoring had been planned for another element of the military and political training of the troop. But, how was it that a part of the aid-monitoring plan was "burned?"

The beginning of this "shift" started with the briefing given to the team by A. Nani, one of the leading cadres of the section. No, after referring to the good work and results achieved by the troop in the indicators of the military-political training, paused and spoke about certain weaknesses and shortcomings that had been observed in the daily activity, for which better organization and management was needed in order to eliminate them. Concretely, the opinion of the section cadre was the following: "In the rear line sector there may be a comrade who does not properly pursue the tasks concerning the improvement of the living conditions of the troop." Of course, this information could not free him from self-responsibility; on the contrary. But, on the other hand, this shows real knowledge of the situation and the need for a more effective aid on the part of the comrades of the apparatus. It was precisely this information that served as a starting point for a more thorough study of the matter. So, the team started its work as to say "crosslegged" in each sub-section and responsible centers, speaking not only with leaders, but also with cadres and young soldiers whose opinion shed more light on the reasons for these shortcomings and suggested possible solutions. There, during the work process, it was not difficult to act and take concrete measures to improve the situation. In the beginning, in regard to certain tasks, there was some stiffness among soldiers for their execution, but after the exchange of thoughts with them, the contrary happened. Such a practice had an influence on improving the work method of cadres in the rear line.

A distinguishing characteristic of each section and sub-section is its desire for progressing, the high feeling of responsibility and the innovative and

creative spirit of the troops regarding the completion of projects. However, practice shows that not everything always "goes smoothly." Life brings new problems, and difficulties are met. As a result, worries also emerge; and even the exemplary sections are not exempt from this. The issue is that the situation and problems that emerge must be known in time. And not only this; but they must be evaluated more seriously, and necessary measures must be taken in order to overcome them, thus, paving the way for new achievements and higher indicators, to underestimate some real phenomena, considering them as "small" or as "occasional," means to create a situation of euphoria and passivity.

At a work analysis, recently held by the party committee for the unit, among other things, the discussion by cadre Q. Dhima pleased the participants. This is why: the work method of the party organization and of its levers to improve quality and training efficiency was documented in a convincing manner. And, the attitude toward some shortcomings, that were observed made the discussion interesting and valuable. One of the comrades present thought that "those are good and [therefore] he did not have to speak about shortcomings, because they themselves will overcome them and so forth." Of course, they themselves will handle the tasks and will improve the results; however, to speak openly about mistakes, especially about correct conclusions on shortcomings, does not lower at all the value of the work that has been done. On the contrary, it makes the troops, the communists and cadres more vigilant toward foreign manifestations; it encourages and mobilizes them to fulfill their tasks much better. At the same time, such an open judgment on problems becomes a "school" for the others, because everyone has something to learn from the other's experience and also has something to do in the section. And not by chance, after the analysis above mentioned, there were many comrades who said: "this was a work meeting with discussion and with "substance" that assigns new and more accelerated obligations to all of us.

What else was observed? Sometimes under the pretext of "protecting" the good reputation of the unit or of the "idea not to cause anxiety to the comrades higher up," information about shortcomings and weaknesses is eliminated. Such an attitude is linked with the petit bourgeois pride and, why not, in some cases, with the tendency to hide shortcomings, as it is also tied with mistrust of the creative abilities of the troops. As such, "negligence" in regard to shortcomings has nothing in common with the norms of our morality, with the feeling of socialist collectivization and with the responsibility that everyone feels to further advance achievements in all fields. Some time ago, the command of a sub-unit in its report to the basic party organization, where F. Lame is a member, had not forgotten to mention even the details about the good work he had done, but, he had omitted to report on shortcomings. And even when something was put down, it was reduced to a minimum. In regard to the judgment of the problem and the best results possible, the basic party organization did not agree with these go-arounds. The basic party organization thoroughly examined the report and extracted not only the shortcomings of the command's work, but also of the communists. The main point is that it reached the real conclusions. This fully guarantees the elimination of weaknesses. Experience is convincing that, when a problem is superficially handled, a baseless opinion is created and, thus, there are expressions such as: "we are fine," "we have no worries." Therefore,

also in information that is dispatched higher up or during an exchange of opinions about various matters regarding the activity of the troops, difficulties are created in order to achieve results as realistic as possible for the work and the people at the grassroots.

9150/12951

CSO: 2100/48

## MANY MEETINGS, POOR RESULTS IN HEALTH PROPAGANDA

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 8 Apr 87 p 3

[Article by Musa Ulqini: "Within a Year 363,433 Talks For the Dissemination of Medical Knowledge"]

[Text] -The comrades of the responsible directorate at the ministry say: "We, too, do not believe these statistics"-

Last year the level of contagious diseases, especially of infant diseases and mortality was not small; it was far from the targets and pledges of the health workers and the ministry itself.

One of the reasons not of small importance, for this situation is that there are many shortcomings in health education and propaganda. It is observed that from the medical center doctor up to the directors of the Ministry of Health this matter not only is not evaluated, but also is not correctly outlined. While, the monitoring of this work by health workers practically does not exist at all. Orders and instructions issued by the ministry on this issue are not monitored to see how they are executed. Rare are the cases when the responsible official of a medical center in a village or city, or of a hospital or clinic, requires reporting on this matter, as is done for all other work indicators. Meanwhile, we all know what a great effect it would have for the safeguarding of the people's health if hundreds and thousands of health workers would seriously participate in a systematic program for the massive dissemination of useful medical knowledges among the masses, for example, pregnant women, mothers with small children in schools where all members of the younger attend, work centers, city quarters and so forth. All opportunities exist to achieve this goal. Nevertheless, we continue this inexcusable underestimation of the role of health propaganda and education. For 3 or 4 years in various seminars, meetings and aktivs, as well as in annual analyses of the ministry, there has been criticism and promises have been made to make qualitative changes in the manner of how to develop and organize the health propaganda and education; however, actually, little is done and, mainly the situation is merely noted. This matter was raise again with force this year at a national medical aktiv in Durres; and at the expanded meeting of the basic party organization of the ministry to discuss the tasks emerging from Comrade Ramiz Alia's speech in Tirana Aktiv where criticism was made in regard to the underestimation of the great prophylactic role of health propaganda and education.



It is surprising, but it is a fact, that many doctors do not mind writing prescriptions, but find it annoying, or "forget" completely to give two or three pieces of medical advice. Moreover, they "forget" to visit work brigades, city quarters, schools and other places to discuss the dissemination of health knowledge.

However, the statistics of the Directorate For Health Education report the contrary regarding the evaluation of health propaganda and education by health workers. (This directorate takes complete responsibility for the organization and management of all activity at the national level for the dissemination of health knowledge among the people.) Concretely, according to these statistics, during 1986 no more and no less than 363,433 health talks were delivered mainly by doctors, in an organized form and with special groups of people! This means that every day, and now (because this work, according to the comrades of this directorate, continues with greater tempo,) there are about 1000 talks organized by doctors at the national level! This evidence placed before us by this directorate, as one of the main indicators of their annual work is really surprising. There, there are all kinds of articles and sub-articles noting the talks held in schools, work centers according to industrial systems, villages and city quarters, as well as in homes, cultural centers, Democratic Front meetings and so forth. This is also true for the campaigns to improve hygiene and health contests for medical problems. The campaigns to improve hygiene alone, held at the city level number 1881 in their documents: while the talks organized by doctors in Democratic Front meetings number 63,158!

Undoubtedly, it is difficult to imagine that anyone will believe this figure of 363,433 talks. Moreover, some other data of these statistics are a big question mark in regard to their accuracy. The director of this directorate Sllavica Martini said: "We, too, do not trust these statistics; for 2 years we have been looking in them in order to make our work measurable." We believe that the comrade director should know that there is a simple and very precise measure for everyone's work, therefore, of her own work, and that is the result --the health condition of the people. Why this desire to look for so many statistics that take up the people's free time, moreover, when they do not trust what they are looking for and when they do not get anything from them? Is this simply in order to be in conformity with regulations, so that when someone comes to look for statistics, someone can say: there you are, see the statistics and believe the great work that we have done! The great harm that is done by fictitious reports is known. However, one is surprised to learn that these fictitious and flagrant figures do not alarm the directors of this directorate. We say this, because in the annual analysis of this directorate, together with the directors of the health education centers in the districts, there is no criticism or anything that attracts your attention in regard to this issue, as also there is no advice or administrative measure about them, they are deceiving.

There is another matter that we believe to be a great weakness in the style and work method of this directorate. To have so many operational statistics means that doctors and workers of health educational centers do nothing else but deal with this kind of work. While, the party has strongly drawn attention and Comrade Ramiz Alia has stressed again at the Second Plenum of the Party Central Committee that excessive letters are a sign of bureaucratic thinking. Such a desire for so many statistics seems to us to be a typical example of the bureaucratic method used by this directorate.

## DEFICIENCIES IN MINISTRY OF DOMESTIC TRADE ANALYZED

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 8 Apr 87 p 2

[Article by Thimi Nika: "It Is Not Enough to Say: 'The Criticisms Were Very Correct'"]

[Text] . . . even discussions held at the last meeting of the party organization of the Ministry of Domestic Trade had a common denominator: "The criticisms that were made to us in the aktiv of the communists and cadres of ministries and of other central institutions were very correct." After this conscientious and unanimous approbation of the criticisms it was absolutely necessary to make them concrete and address them to the responsible persons.

Who are they? This concreteness and finding of responsibility for everyone, in accordance with functions entrusted and power given, to everyone, was not done properly.

We know the directive of the Ninth Party Congress; it stresses that the work of trade workers is measured according to the level of the satisfaction of the people's need with goods. How was it executed by the workers of this ministry? Without denying achievements, we must say that it was not executed properly everywhere and by all. One often meets people who have the wrong tendency to transfer their own responsibility to other people and production organs, and claim that "they have not fulfilled our contracts." Let us understand each other: the producer's influence on trade is known, and there are cases where contracts are not fulfilled by producers; but, the wrong tendency, as reported at the organization, is when difficulties are used as a shield to cover the shortcomings and weaknesses of the planning, managing, organizing and monitoring work of the ministry. Let us try to document this.

The ministry has a directorate for fruits-vegetables. Its defects in supplying the people are known. But, how have its workers fulfilled their tasks? They have executed their plan with poor quality; the conveyor of vegetables between the districts has worked more under the pressure of agricultural workers. Who is responsible for this fact? Of course, responsible are manager Flamur Celmeta and specialists Agim Doku and Qazim Asllani. Correctly, one of the participants at the meeting asked:

- Comrade Flamur, are you satisfied with the work of your specialists?
- Demands have been greatly increased; their level does not respond to these demands.

After this answer, comments are superfluous. When someone cannot cope with his work, he does not respond to the demands of his function, then, it is not a shame to accept the fact with awareness and ask to go to another place. However, if this person does not act, that is ask to go somewhere else, anyone has the right to tell him about his lack of ability and ask that he be sent to another place. As a documentation in this regard, the question by Aleksandra Diamanti, worker at the Cadre Directorate, would be enough:

- Comrade Flamur, when the specialists of your directorate do not respond to requirements, why did you overevaluate the work of one of them giving the impression that he was good enough to be appointed as deputy minister?

Therefore, sentimentalism and "generosity" are clearly seen here: "Why must I spoil my relationship with my comrade; let someone else tell him what he should do and, moreover, when we have to do with written documents. "They say that during the past 3-4 years six workers have left the ministry because of inefficiency. This was properly done, but this does not mean at all that inefficiency was uprooted completely. On the contrary, this matter must to be pursued in a continued manner and not with campaigns.

Now the tasks in the field of trade are very great. In order for the workers of the Ministry of Domestic Trade to respond much better to those tasks there must be more dynamism, more determination in work, more initiative, more discipline and monitoring and more achievable force. Therefore, what happens? Not rarely the market is short of goods. For instance, as was also criticized at the Tirana party aktiv, the market was short of stockings, thread and elastic black fabrics and many fine articles. Why did this happen? The cadres of the ministry had tolerated this situation. When they were asked to report, immediately they would bring up the "excuse"--"we have no funds." While "funds were lacking for" these goods, the plan for importing heavy items, such as refrigerators and washing machines was considered untouchable. Such an attitude was the consequence of negligence and routine work. In addition to these things, as Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed out, "a kind of economizing is also influential here: the circulation plan for refrigerators and washing machines is fulfilled at once; while other items, so called small items, have a slow circulation and are of low value." This kind of economizing and its harm were also discussed theoretically at the party organization. But, the dots were not put properly on the "i" because those who spoke confined themselves to saying that "criticism of a certain type of economizing was correct" and nothing else. Not a word was said about the person who is directly criticized. And self-criticism by ministerial directors on this issue could have been more complete and more thorough; and there should have been criticism from the bottom to the top (but this was lacking completely).

The Ministry of Domestic Trade has an active, not a passive role, in regard to production. But, this role is moving slowly, especially regarding non-food articles. Also, alertness in handling funds for these goods, especially for those with slow circulation, as well as the role of the planning and financing



directorates, have not been at the required level. The question arises: do ministerial specialists have a clear and complete picture of the reasons for the creation of these goods? No. It is the responsibility of workers Petro Stefani and Marianthi Karanxha, as well as of specialists, who cover industrial articles. Good work was done last year to decrease the quantity of goods with slow circulation valued at 40 million leks. However, the fact that they created another quantity of goods valued 32 million leks is illegal. It is precisely here that there is room for studies, and the skilled mercantile thinking must speak its mind with more competency.

Some speakers spoke at length about the importance of their delicate sectors, and the feeling of self-satisfaction that was apparent in some of the speakers; as a matter of fact, euphoria, we would say. For example, communist Gjenovefa Keto, specialist at the Directorate for Public Catering, did not miss any figure when reporting on the increase in sales of fruit juices and in the number of sales units. However, the people have great observations about the public catering sector. She did not say anything about this, nor did she say anything about the level of services in public catering. Public is not catering given the place it deserves, when there is or when there are by euphoria artisan concepts.

The spirit of euphoria at the Directorate of Cadres has only one nuance: it is summarized into a presentation of the figures and percentages of workers' participation in training courses. Concretely: today the number of workers with middle education in the trade sector is 52 percent, while at the end of the Five-Year Plan it will reach 80 percent. This is good. But, what is the influence of training on the quality of services? Not a word is said about it. In fact, this influence is very minimal. When you ask for the reasons, Gazmend Baholli, worker at the Directorate of Cadres, who supplied the figures above mentioned, admits with a low voice that "this influence" is reduced by cases of deficits and surpluses that are observed, especially in certain workers of higher categories. Here, there is a contradiction: the level of services remains the same.

In this directorate there have been many discussions on the strengthening of relationships with the grassroots and, certainly we have results. Nevertheless, there is room for many improvements. This was the reason for concern in the discussions of the party organization. On this issue, there are various roads: to be taken the establishment of a correct proportion between single and centralized management of the directorate by socialist democracy, by combating bureaucratic and liberal manifestations; the establishment of a correct proportion between office work and operational work; the reduction as much as possible, of the number of official letters and so forth. However, relationships with the grassroots are not reinforced simply because it was decided that "everyone" must go to the grassroots no less than 8 days per month, that he must report to the people more than once per year and that official papers must be reduced not less than 30 percent compared to the past year." Everything is measured according to effectiveness.

Therefore, it is important to understand correctly the party recommendation that says: when it is necessary, not to hesitate to reduce the personnel, to

reduce official letters, to obligate workers to go to the grassroots to carry out monitoring work and to give aid.

From all what we have said above, one conclusion can be reached: it is necessary that noticeable improvements be made in the work method of workers of this directorate so that it will become as fruitful as possible in order to respond to the requirements of the times, the great tasks assigned by the Ninth Party Congress. First of all, it is necessary to combat a certain atmosphere in the working conditions. In this framework, the execution of the party policy regarding the circulation of cadres is of particular importance. No one spoke about this matter at the meeting, with the exception of Comrade Osman Murati, the head of the directorate. Was it forgetfulness of the event or is there no way to implement this circulation? No, there is a way. There are 26 cadres in this ministry who have been working there for more than 8 years. Here, we do not mean that all these comrades must circulate. However, among them, there also are some who are affected by atmosphere, routine and bureaucracy. They must feel the need for circulation and, later, ask for it. However, when it is observed that someone does not carry out this request, the party organization has the duty to explain to him the necessity of the circulation in order to avoid the danger of the atmosphere and of routine and to help the cadre himself.

9150/12951

CSO: 2100/49

## DIMITROV COMMUNIST YOUTH UNION STATUTE

Sofia NARODNA MLADEZH in Bulgarian 13 May 87 pp 1-3

[Draft Statutes of the Dimitrov Communist Youth Union]

[Text] The Dimitrov Communist Youth Union is a popular, enterprising and united sociopolitical organization of Bulgarian youth. It is the right hand of the Bulgarian Communist Party in its work for communist education and the diverse development and social awareness of the young generation.

The Dimitrov Communist Youth Union is the heir to and preserver of the revolutionary work and traditions of the Union of Social Democratic Workers' Youth, the Bulgarian Communist Youth Union, the Workers' Youth Union, the Bulgarian General Students' Union, and the Dimitrov Union of People's Youth.

The Komsomol works under the ideological and political leadership of the Bulgarian Communist Party. It actively participates in the execution of the Party's program and policies by transforming V.I. Lenin's legacy into reality "to be a strike force, rendering assistance, demonstrating initiative and showing respect in everything it does".

The Dimitrov Komsomol is a reserve of the Bulgarian Communist Party, a school where youth can learn ideological, political and civic maturity, where revolutionary continuity is passed from generation to generation. The Komsomol develops a Marxist-Leninist philosophy in young people and molds them as devoted fighters for the ideas of communism, loyal to the legacy of Georgi Dimitrov, active participants in carrying out the Lenin April general Party line, capable of developing socialism. The greatest honor for every member of the Komsomol is to become a member of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

The Dimitrov Communist Youth Union is an inseparable element of the political system of socialist society. In youth work, it is the Party's representative to society, a political organizer of the young generation in building mature socialism, a spokesman for the interests of young people, and a defender of their rights. The Komsomol conducts its activities in full compliance with the laws and Constitution of the country.

The Dimitrov Komsomol works to accomplish the strategic course of the Party for qualitatively new growth. One of their important responsibilities is to

develop the creative forces and capabilities of the young generation, both at school and at work, and to establish youth as the vanguard and strike force of the scientific and technological revolution.

The Komsomol works to prepare young people for participation in political life, forms of social democracy and self-government. It assists labor collectives and agencies of self-government in youth work, helps young people to master and realize their rights and responsibilities in administering and managing socialist property and to develop their social initiative.

The Komsomol works for the growth of young people as versatile, well-rounded individuals, cheerful and bold builders of socialist society, capable of defending the homeland and the achievements of socialism.

The Dimitrov Communist Youth Union is part and parcel of the international progressive and democratic youth movement, guided by the principles of Marxist-Leninism and proletarian socialist internationalism.

The Komsomol contributes to the expansion of unity of action with the Leninist Communist Youth Union of the Soviet Union and other fraternal youth unions in accomplishing the course of universal cooperation and friendship with the USSR and strengthening fraternal friendship and cooperation with the countries of the socialist community. It actively cooperates in strengthening the unity and solidarity of progressive democratic youth forces; it brings about cooperation with youth organizations with a different orientation in the struggle against imperialism and militarism and for peace and disarmament, freedom, democracy and social progress; and it participates in the movement for anti-imperialist solidarity with the youth and nations struggling for national and social liberation.

## I MEMBERS OF THE DIMITROV COMMUNIST YOUTH UNION

### 1. Conditions of Membership in the DCYU

Every Bulgarian citizen between the ages of 14 and 30 may be a member of the DCYU if he acknowledges the statutes of the DCYU and is guided by them in his actions, works in one of the Komsomol associations, implements the resolutions of the Komsomol agencies and pays membership dues.

### 2. Obligations of a Member of the DCYU

Every member of the DCYU is obliged:

a) to be devoted to the revolutionary and democratic traditions of the Party and the people, to protect and develop them; to study Marxist-Leninism and improve his political preparation; to struggle against all deviations from Party policies, against bourgeois ideology and religious anachronisms.

b) to be a patriot and an internationalist, a fighter for peace, ready to defend his homeland and the achievements of socialism, to strengthen Bulgarian-Soviet friendship.

c) to participate actively in accomplishing the Party's strategy for qualitatively new growth, by promoting what is innovative and progressive; to constantly improve his competency and professional preparation, to master modern scientific, technical and technological achievements and to be in the vanguard of their development and introduction

d) to become actively involved in the self-government of labor collectives and schools, to develop and conduct himself as a good manager of socialist property, observing the unity of his rights and obligations.

e) to fulfil his obligations at school and at work consciously and responsibly, to demonstrate initiative and creativity in achieving the best results.

f) to observe socialist laws and morals, demonstrate an active civic positions and courage, defend truth and be irreconcilable towards negative phenomena in the life of youth and society.

g) to prepare himself as a versatile and well-rounded individual, to enrich his intellectual needs and interests, to lead a wholesome way of life and to harden himself physically.

h) to develop healthy friendships, to be honest, principled, attentive and sympathetic towards his friends and elders, to set an example in rearing and educating children.

i) to demonstrate initiative and contribute to increasing the authority and influence of the Komsomol, to point out openly the weaknesses and shortcomings in its activities and struggle to eradicate them, to observe Komsomol discipline strictly and to strengthen the unity of the Union.

### 3. Rights of Membership in the DCYU

Every member of the DCYU has the right:

a) to elect and be elected in every Komsomol agency.

b) to request and receive information about the activities of every Komsomol agency and a report of the results of implemented resolutions.

c) to participate in the discussion of issues in the Komsomol agencies and press, to express himself freely, to make suggestions and to defend his opinion.

d) to criticize freely at assemblies, sessions, conferences, congresses and in the Komsomol press the weaknesses and errors of every member and agency of the DCYU.

e) to request Komsomol agencies, associations and organizations to represent and defend his interests and suggestions before other agencies and organizations and to seek their cooperation in a just solution of his problems.



f) to turn to any Komsomol agency with any question, suggestion or personal request and to receive a reply within a legally stipulated period of time.

g) to participate personally whenever decisions are taken in a Komsomol agency with respect to its activities and line of conduct.

h) to turn to the Komsomol association with a request to receive a recommendation to join the Bulgarian Communist Party.

i) to use the facilities and resources of the DCYU, the Komsomol associations and organizations, in accordance with established rules.

#### 4. Acceptance into the DCYU

Membership in the DCYU is voluntary. Young people with known ideological, political and intellectual qualities, who are active at school, work and in public life, may be accepted as members of the Union. Acceptance is on an individual basis. Those wishing to join the DCYU must submit their application to the appropriate Komsomol association. The application is discussed and decided upon at an assembly of the association in the presence of the candidate.

#### 5. Proof of Membership in the DCYU

A general membership card provides proof of membership in the DCYU. When transferring from one Komsomol association to another, the Komsomol member is enrolled with his membership card.

#### 6. Komsomol Incentives

Members of the DCYU may be honored with Komsomol insignia, moral and material awards for active Komsomol work and for significant acts that benefit the public. Komsomol agencies may, according to established procedure, recommend members of the Komsomol for the honor of state insignia and for incentives from state, business, teaching, public and other agencies and organizations.

#### 7. Recommendation for Nomination to the Bulgarian Communist Party

In accordance with the Statutes of the BCP, a member of the Komsomol who wishes to be nominated to the Party should request a recommendation from the association in which he is a member. Recommendation is discussed and accepted at an assembly of the association and certified by attestation of the supreme standing Komsomol committee.

#### 8. Komsomol Penalties

For violation of the Statutes of the DCYU and for other offences, including non-payment of membership dues for more than 3 months, the following union penalties apply to Komsomol members: reprimand, censure, expulsion from the DCYU. For insignificant offences, measures of friendly persuasion apply: criticism, reminders, warnings. The Komsomol disengages itself from those of its members who by their conduct discredit its name and authority.

Offences of Komsomol members are discussed in the associations to which they belong. In the case that this is conducted by the supreme standing agency, the latter is obliged to consult the association and inform it of the decision taken. Expulsion from the DCYU is arranged by an assembly of the Komsomol association; and, for members of the supreme standing Komsomol agencies, by the appropriate committee or auditing commission. If the association demonstrates the initiative before the supreme standing Komsomol agency to expel from the DCYU one of its elected Komsomol members, the agency is obliged to discuss the issue and inform the association of the decision reached. Those expelled from the DCYU are deprived of their membership cards. The penalties applied may be appealed before the supreme standing Komsomol agencies within a 3-month period.

#### 9. Suspension of Membership in the DCYU

Members of the DCYU who reach 30 years of age suspend their membership in the Union if they are not elected to its executive agencies. Komsomol members who wish to continue their membership in the Union may do so with the agreement of the Komsomol association for a period no longer than 5 years.

### II ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE DCYU. INTERNAL DEMOCRACY AND SELF-GOVERNMENT

#### 10. Characteristics of formation of the DCYU

The DCYU is formed along geographical and industrial lines. Wherever Komsomol members learn, work or live, Komsomol associations and primary organizations are formed, combining in town, rayon, municipal and okrug Komsomol organizations.

#### 11. Democratic Centralism

Democratic centralism is a fundamental principle in the formation and activities of the DCYU. All Komsomol executive agencies are elected from the bottom up; they are obliged to make periodic reports to their associations, organizations and supreme standing agencies, and to make their work open and public. Discipline in the Komsomol is equally binding on everyone; the minority yields to the majority; the resolutions of the supreme standing agencies are binding on the lower standing agencies.

Komsomol associations and organizations are autonomous with respect to resolution of local issues. Establishing themselves on the general goals and aims of the Union and on the resolutions of the supreme standing agencies, and taking into consideration the rights and responsibilities of self-governing organizations, they independently determine their goals, resources and the manner in which they work.

#### 12. Agencies of Komsomol Self-government

The executive agencies are: for the association -- the assembly (sobranye); for the organization -- the conference or general assembly; for the entire Union -- the congress. Komsomol committees are elected to conduct work in

the period between assemblies, conferences and congresses. The conferences (general assemblies) and the congress elect auditing commissions for special audits.

a) The election of delegates to the conferences and congress, members of Komsomol committees and auditing commissions, as well as their executive agencies, including secretaries and first secretaries, and presidents and vice-presidents respectively, takes place at the judgement of the agency, which conducts a separate election for each candidate by secret or open voting.

The candidacies are reviewed in advance in the associations in which candidates are members, and a public hearing is held. Two or more candidacies may be put forward for one office. During the preliminary review and during elections, all Komsomol members or delegates have the unrestricted right to support, criticize, challenge, or recommend new candidates. The Komsomol association and organization may recommend the recall of its members from membership of supreme standing Komsomol agencies, which are obliged to discuss the issue and inform the association and organization of the decisions reached.

In the period between congresses and conferences (general assemblies) the respective committees and revision commissions may replace one third of their membership if necessary.

b) The Komsomol agencies carry out their work on a wide public base. They systematically investigate young public opinion and, in reaching decisions on important issues, organize hearings and discussions among the youth. Every Komsomol member and agency may initiate Komsomol resolutions. Associations and organizations have the right to request and receive information on the activities of the supreme standing agencies and a report on the implementation of resolutions.

Collectivity is a supreme principle of the work of Komsomol agencies. Their members enjoy equal rights. All resolutions made by Komsomol agencies, including those for elections, are considered passed if more than one half of their members voted for them. Members of Komsomol agencies are bound to keep close contacts with Komsomol members, investigate their interests and problems and shortcomings in Komsomol work and, at the same time, raise unresolved issues and to work for implementation of resolutions.

Komsomol agencies may form their auxiliary groups (councils, standing and provisional commissions, staff, etc.) and employ other forms to attract Komsomol members to their public work.

### 13. Auditing Commissions

Auditing commissions of the DCYU are agencies of specialized internal auditing. They carry out audits for observation of organizational and financial discipline, management of property and facilities, and timely and accurate completion of record-keeping in the Union.



Based on the results of its audits the auditing commissions make recommendations to the Komsomol committees, associations and organizations for improvement in the work. For established violations of the law, Statutes of the DCYU, or instructions of the Central Committee they make resolutions that are binding on the audited Komsomol agencies and units. The manner in which the auditing commissions conduct their work is determined by instruction from the Central Committee and the Central Auditing Commission of the DCYU.

#### 14. Advisory Boards for Occupational Subgroups

Advisory boards for occupational subgroups, such as secondary schoolers, university students, young workers, and the like, are to be constituted under the DKMS Central Committee, okrug committees, and--optionally--obshtina committees as auxiliary entities based on social principles.

The advisory boards address the particular interests and problems of the various occupational subgroups of young people and assist Komsomol committees in applying a nuanced approach to work among young people. The advisory boards are constituted and guided according to a statute confirmed by the DKMS Central Committee.

#### 15. Komsomol Secretaries' Councils

Komsomol Secretaries' Councils may be formed in combines, societies, associations, etc. They comprise secretaries of the primary organizations and independent associations. The council may at its own judgement include other members in its group.

In cooperation with agencies of self-governing organizations, Komsomol secretaries' councils integrate and coordinate the efforts of Komsomol organizations and associations for the accomplishment of common goals, tasks and interests.

#### 16. Integration According to Interests

Komsomol members in associations and organizations may form different societies according to interests, including place of residence -- youth clubs, groups, circles, etc. Young people who are not members of the DCYU, as well as Komsomol members who belong to other associations and organizations may take part in their activities.

### III AGENCIES AND UNITS OF THE DIMITROV COMMUNIST YOUTH UNION

#### The Komsomol Association

#### 17. Formation of a Komsomol Association

The association is the primary unit of the DCYU. It is formed in the presence of no less than three Komsomol members. The formation and disbandment of the association is approved by the supreme standing Komsomol committee. Provisional Komsomol associations may be formed by Komsomol members who have temporarily changed their place of work, learning or residence.

### 18. Agencies of the Association

The assembly is the supreme executive agency of the association. It is called by resolution of the association's committee of the DCYU or at the request of no fewer than one quarter of the members of the association, no less frequently than once every two years.

Once a year an annual assembly is held to hear reports and elect officials. Numerical strength of membership is determined and an association committee and secretary elected, as well as delegates to the conference of the supreme standing organization.

The association committee executes work between assemblies, organizes and audits implementation of their resolutions and reports on its activities to them.

### 19. Goals of the Komsomol Association

The Komsomol association:

a) organizes the teaching of Marxist-Leninism and Party policies to young people and works to build the class-party approach in them; assists in their correct orientation and determines their active political position to resolve collective and public duties and problems.

b) works to make Komsomol members conscious and aware of their rights and obligations in the labor collective and raise their sense of responsibility in school and at work in managing socialist property; mobilizes them to fulfil personal and collective duties.

c) assists young people in their all-round participation in the self-government of the collective; aids in improving their political and organizational culture; independently and together with local professional organizations, supports their expedient recommendations and critical remarks and defends their requests for just resolution of their problems.

d) supports the creativity and innovation of Komsomol members at school and at work and their aspirations to master and apply the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution and to achieve good results; fights to enable them to achieve and receive recognition, creates an atmosphere of intolerance toward passivity, mediocrity and levelling.

e) works for young people to understand correctly the principles of socialist justice, strengthens their honest and principled positions toward negative phenomena in the life of the collective and society; leads the struggle against indifference and lack of criticism.

f) together with agencies of self-government and primary professional organizations, works to constantly improve young people's professional training and develop their talents, to satisfy their social and intellectual

needs, to ensure that they become active in sport and tourism and enjoy rest and entertainment; organizes collective demonstrations in free time, in keeping with its resources.

g) affirms friendly relationships, collectivism and reciprocity among young people; works to form honest and principled members of the collective and society.

h) creates conditions for every Komsomol member to express himself in Komsomol work according to his inclinations, needs and interests; assists him in the execution of his rights and obligations as a member of the DCYU; works to support Komsomol discipline; puts Komsomol members in touch with higher agencies of the Union.

i) works to prepare adolescents and young people to join the DCYU and accepts them into its ranks, acts to increase the role and influence of the Union among young people and bears the responsibility for reinforcing the Union with worthy members.

j) cooperates with primary party organizations in preparing the best Komsomol members for membership in the BCP; discusses and approves recommendations for their acceptance in the Party.

## 20. Komsomol Group

Groups may be formed within the Komsomol associations through which some activities may be accomplished in independent sections, units, school and labor collectives, according to special interests. The formation of groups is approved at the assembly of the association. The Komsomol group conducts an annual meeting at which reports are heard, elections held, and a group leader elected. Party-Komsomol groups may also be formed.

## Primary Organization of the DCYU

### 21. Formation of Primary Komsomol Organizations

Primary organizations are formed in firms, schools, institutes, offices, military detachments, etc., in the presence of two or more Komsomol associations.

### 22. Agencies of the Primary Organization

The conference (general assembly) is the supreme organ of the primary organization. It is called by resolution of the committee of the primary organization or at the request of no fewer than one quarter of the members of the organization. A conference (general assembly) is held no less than once every 2 to 3 years at which reports are heard and elections held. Numerical strength is determined, and a committee, secretary, auditing commission and president are elected. Delegates to the conference of the supreme standing organization are also elected.

The committee of the primary organization conducts work in the period between conferences (general assemblies). It reports to them on its activities, organizes and audits implementation of their resolutions, and resolves new issues with the aid of the Komsomol associations.

### 23. Aims of the Primary Organization

The primary Komsomol organization:

- a) directs, assists and audits Komsomol associations to ensure that Komsomol members master and achieve their rights and obligations as managers of socialist property in the labor collective; mobilizes young people to achieve good results at school and at work; develops competition for the expression of their creativity, capabilities and talent.
- b) with the aid of Komsomol members and associations, cooperates with organs of self-government of the working collective to delineate and resolve problems in creating conditions for young people to develop at school and at work, to involve them in the development and introduction of scientific, technical and technological achievements, to given them a successful start in professional life and to allow them to develop in accordance with their abilities.
- c) cooperates in the full participation of young people in the organs of self-government in the primary labor collective, the BPC and other social organizations, assists them to think out and fulfil their rights and responsibilities correctly.
- d) works with the agencies of labor collective and primary professional organization to create conditions for the versatile and well-rounded development of young people; develops the movement for Youth Technical and Scientific Creativity and the brigade movement; forms different societies according to interests; promotes the enrichment of youth and sports opportunities by organizing youth for voluntary work; organizes sports events and excursions, entertaining demonstrations, etc.
- e) leads and assists in the strengthening and development of Komsomol associations as an all-round, ideological, political and intellectual medium for forming Komsomol members and a factor in the resolution of problems in their preparation and development; works to improve their individual character and to strengthen discipline in them; integrates the efforts of associations to jointly resolve common problems.

MUNICIPAL, OKRUG AND CENTRAL AGENCY OF THE DCYU

### 24. Agencies of the Obahtina Komsomol Organization

The conference is the supreme agency of the municipal Komsomol organization and is called once every 2 to 3 years. The conference reviews the reports of the municipal committee and the municipal auditing commission and takes decisions on them; approves the aims of the municipal organization and, when necessary, discusses other issues; determines the numerical strength of the



organization and elects a municipal committee and auditing commission; elects delegates to the conference of the okrug organization.

The municipal committee determines the numerical strength of the organization and elects an executive board -- first secretary, secretaries and members -- and an auditing commission -- president and vice-president. The committees of smaller organizations elect only a first secretary and secretaries.

Sessions of the municipal committees and municipal auditing commissions are called by a resolution of their leadership or at the request of no fewer than one-quarter of their members, no less frequently than once every 4 months.

N.B. Town and rayon organizations may be formed in towns and rayons respectively. Their executive agencies are given the same status as agencies of the municipal or primary Komsomol organizations.

## 25. Aims of the Municipal Committee of the DCYU

The municipal committee of the DCYU:

a) leads and assists the work of the primary Komsomol organizations and independent associations by promoting their initiative and enterprise and bearing in mind their rights and responsibilities; mobilizes their efforts to resolve problems and tasks in the settlement system as a self-governing unit.

b) directs the work of the associations and organizations to interpret the policies and resolutions of the party and develop socialist conviction and morality in young people.

c) aids and assists the municipal people's council to delineate and resolve problems in the work of creating complex conditions for diverse development, preparation and achievement of youth within the territory of the settlement system; works to coordinate the activities of state and public agencies among young people and exercises public control to resolve youth problems; unites young people in general initiatives to develop the settlement system.

d) in close cooperation with the Fatherland Front, directly leads and organizes the work of the DCYU in place of residence, directs and assists the activities of youth clubs and societies according to their interest; works for the enrichment and full use of the youth base in the municipality; supports and develops initiatives for young people's rational use of free time.

e) works for the education, preparation and improvement of work style and methods of Komsomol specialists and activists; develops in them creative and innovative thinking, the need for and agreement on active practical work among young people; struggles with resolve against manifestations of hot air and red tape.

## 26. Agencies of the Okrug Komsomol Organization

The conference is the supreme agency of the okrug Komsomol organization and is called every 2 to 3 years. The conference reviews the reports of the okrug

committee and the okrug auditing commission and takes decisions on them; determines the tasks of the okrug organization and, when necessary, discusses other issues; determines the numerical strength of the organization and elects an okrug committee and an okrug auditing commission; elects delegates to the congress or to the national Komsomol conference.

The okrug committee elects an executive board -- a first secretary, secretaries and members. The okrug auditing commission elects an executive board -- a president, vice-president and members.

Sessions of the okrug committees and the okrug auditing commission are called by a resolution of their executive boards or at the request of no fewer than one quarter of their members, no less frequently than once every 6 months.

A DCYU town committee and town auditing commission are elected in Sofia.

## 27. Aims of the Okrug Committee of the DCYU

The okrug committee of the DCYU:

a) leads, coordinates and assists in the activities of the municipal committees of the DCYU; helps them to increase their position and role in the function of the settlement systems as self-governing units; directs them to fulfil the general aims of the okrug Komsomol organization.

b) works in close cooperation with state and municipal agencies and organizations within the territory of the okrug; works out and brings to their attention the issues of youth education and achievement; works to create effective coordination of work on youth issues and to consolidate efforts and resources; effects public control of the activities of state and public agencies and organizations with youth.

c) systematically investigates and analyzes youth life and Komsomol practices, maps out pathways and steps to be taken so that of Komsomol activities conform to changes in society and among young people in the okrug.

d) leads and guarantees the methodical training and education of Komsomol specialists and activists; works to ensure that they master innovation in the theory and practice of Komsomol activities, summarizes and circulates positive experience.

## 28. Central Agencies of the DCYU

The congress is the supreme agency of the DCYU and is called once every 5 years. The announcement and suggestions for the agenda are made at least 2 months in advance. The congress reviews reports of the central committee and the central auditing commission and takes decisions on them; approves and modifies the Statutes of the DCYU; determines the general line of work and chief aims of the DCYU; determines the numerical strength of the organization and elects a central committee and central auditing commission.

The central committee of the DCYU elects an executive board that directs work between plena -- a first secretary, secretaries and members -- as well as a secretariat to direct current work of an organizational and executive nature. The central auditing commission elects an executive board -- a president, vice-president and members.

Sessions of the central committee and central auditing commission of the DCYU are called by a resolution of their executive boards or at the request of no fewer than one quarter of their members, not less frequently than once every 6 months.

The central committee of the DCYU may call a national Komsomol conference in the period between congresses to discuss important issues concerning the activities of the Komsomol and youth work.

#### 29. Tasks of the Central Committee of the DCYU

The central committee of the DCYU:

- a) specifies and develops the resolutions of the congress and assumes leadership and control of their implementation; carries out youth initiatives of national importance.
- b) works on current DCYU tasks resulting from party policies and resolutions.
- c) studies objective trends, processes and phenomena among youth and in Komsomol activities and takes decisions on new problems that emerge.
- d) exercises legislative initiative; brings the social problems of youth to the attention of state and public agencies and organizations and cooperates closely with them to resolve these; works to coordinate and unite public efforts in work with the young generation.
- e) creates and leads the central Komsomol and Pioneer newspapers, journals, offices and firms in assisting activities of the Union.
- f) leads and coordinates the Union's international activities and represents it in its relations with foreign youth organizations.

#### IV THE KOMSOMOL AND STATE AND PUBLIC AGENCIES AND ORGANIZATIONS

##### 30. The role of the DCYU in the System of Social Government

The Dimitrov Communist Youth Union brings about close cooperation and leads equivalent dialogue with state and public agencies and organizations to resolve youth problems. It influences the shaping of their goals and aims in work with the young generation, and actively assists in and conducts public control of their implementation.

### 31. The DCYU and Coordination in Youth Work

The Dimitrov Komsomol works to create effective coordination between state and public agencies and organization to resolve youth problems, struggles to overcome the departmental approach to youth work. It brings the social problems of young people to the attention of state and public agencies and organizations and works to direct and integrate the efforts and resources of society in resolving youth problems.

The Komsomol has a leading role in cooperating with appropriate agencies and organizations in realizing specific youth activities -- young people's technical and scientific creativity, the brigade movement, etc.

### 32. Public Control of the DCYU

Leaning on the public opinion of young people and their critical remarks, complains and suggestions, the Komsomol committees, associations and organizations develop points of view on the results of the work of state and public agencies and organizations in resolving youth problems. To overcome certain weaknesses and shortcomings, they make suggestions to the appropriate state, public, auditing and other agencies and show initiative in bringing them to the attention of party agencies and organizations.

### 33. The DCYU and Participation of Youth in Social Government

The Komsomol prepares young people for active participation in social government by creating in them a correct understanding of the combination of broad democracy and centralism and of freedom of creative work with strong social discipline. The Komsomol committees, associations and organizations assist the work of youth representatives and state, business and public agencies, enable them to prepare and express themselves as spokesmen and defenders of youth needs and interests. The central and local committees of the DCYU, in keeping with the Constitution and electoral laws indicate candidates for national representatives, independently or together with other public organizations.

## V THE KOMSOMOL IN THE ARMED FORCES OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BULGARIA

### 34. Leadership of Associations and Organizations of the DCYU in the Armed Forces

Komsomol associations and organizations in the Armed Forces work on the basis of instructions approved by the central committee of the Komsomol and political organizations of the Armed Forces under the direct leadership of commanding officers, political commanding sub-officers and party organizations.

### 35. Specific Aims of Associations and Organizations of the DCYU in the Armed Forces

Komsomol associations and organizations in the Armed Forces unite young soldiers around the BCP and its central committee, educate them in the spirit



of patriotism and internationalism, form in them loyalty towards the homeland and country, vigilance, courage and selflessness, a feeling of fraternal friendship with the Soviet army and armies of the member states of the Warsaw Pact, constant readiness to defend the Fatherland and the achievements of socialism.

They assist the commanding officers, political agencies and party organizations to increase the forces' readiness for action. They mobilize young soldiers to successfully execute tasks of military and political preparation, to master military equipment and arms, to introduce scientific and technical achievements in military affairs, to execute military duty irreproachably and observe military discipline, to execute the orders and instructions of the commanding officers.

Komsomol associations and organizations in the Armed Forces assist in strengthening the unity of the army and nation, support close ties with local Komsomol organizations and participate in the work of their organs; assist in the military-patriotic education and military-technical preparation of younger people and in the preparation of youth for military service.

## VI THE KOMSOMOL AND THE DIMITROV PIONEER ORGANIZATION "SEPTEMVRIYCHE"

### 36. Goals and Aims of the DPO "Septemvriyche"

The Dimitrov Pioneer Organization "Septemvriyche" is a popular, enterprising Communist organization of children and adolescents in the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

The pioneer organization assists in forming children and adolescents as versatile, well-developed individuals, ardent patriots and convinced internationalists, unhesitating fighters in the work of the party and the triumph of the communist ideal. It educates pioneers and chavdars in love of work and learning, works to develop their creative gifts and talents, affirms in them high moral virtues, prepares them to be worthy members of the Dimitrov Communist Youth Union and well-rounded workers of socialism. The pioneer organization is a natural medium for developing the movement "The Flag of Peace."

The activities and formation of the DPO "Septemvriyche" are implemented in keeping with fundamental positions approved by the central committee of the DCYU.

### 37. Komsomol Leadership of the DPO "Septemvriyche"

At the instruction of the Bulgarian Communist Party, the Dimitrov Communist Youth Union leads the Dimitrov Pioneer Organization "Septemvriyche". The Komsomol committees direct and assist the work of the pioneer organization to fulfil its goals and aims by supporting the initiative of the pioneers and developing enterprise and self-government in pioneer detachments and associations. The Komsomol represents pioneer organizations in the political system of society. It works in close cooperation with schools, with state and public agencies and organizations, and with the family; it attracts the

efforts of society to create good conditions for the education, preparation and achievement of children and adolescents.

Pioneer leaders are designated to direct leadership and assistance of activities of pioneer detachments and associations and bands of "chavdarche." Pioneer homes and clubs, sections, groups and other societies are formed to enrich pioneer life. The best prepared Komsomol members and other specialists are designated as their leaders.

Councils of pioneer organizations are formed in the central, okrug and municipal committees of the DCYU. They direct their activities, study, and discuss the problems of children and adolescents and bring them to the attention of party, state and public agencies and organizations. Conferences of pioneer leaders and workers may be called to discuss important issues concerning the activities of pioneer organizations.

## VII FINANCIAL RESOURCES OF THE DIMITROV COMMUNIST YOUTH UNION. JURIDICAL PERSONS

### 38. Sources of Financial Resources

The resources of the Dimitrov Communist Youth Union are assured by membership dues, revenue from labor, cultural, entertainment and sports events, etc.

Membership dues for members of the DCYU depend on their monthly income. Those who receive a monthly income up to 120 leva pay 0.10 leva; from 120 to 200 leva -- 0.5 percent; and above 200 leva -- 1.0 percent monthly. Members of the BCP who are members of the DCYU do not pay a monthly contribution.

### 39. Use and Expenditure of Financial Resources

Use of financial resources and reports on expenditure are approved annually by assemblies of the associations and by the appropriate Komsomol committees upon recommendation of their executive agencies. Business and financial activities are carried out in keeping with the laws of the country, the decree on business and financial activities and specific procedures approved by the central committee of the DCYU.

### 40. Juridical Persons

The central committee, okrug and municipal committees of the DCYU are juridical persons. As such they are represented by their first secretaries and, in their absence, by their deputies. Detachments of Komsomol committees acquire qualities of juridical persons according to a resolution of the executive board of the central committee of the DCYU.

## VIII SYMBOLS OF THE DIMITROV COMMUNIST YOUTH UNION

### 41. Flag of the DCYU

The flag of the DCYU is red. On one side is the Komsomol badge and the words "Proletarians of Every Land, Unite". On the other side is the image of Georgi

Dimitrov and the words "Dimitrov Communist Youth Union". Okrug, municipal, rayon, town and primary Komsomol organizations have their own flags. Their names are added to the words "Dimitrov Communist Youth Union".

#### 42. Komsomol Membership Card

The Komsomol membership card is red. The front bears the image of Georgi Dimitrov and the words "Dimitrov Communist Youth Union" and "Membership Card".

#### 43. DCYU Badge

On the DCYU badge, against a red background, are depicted a five-pointed star, the image of Georgi Dimitrov, the national tricolor and the letters "DCYU".

12907  
CSO:2200/99

## 'HUNGAROHOMES' TO BE BUILT NEAR BUDAPEST FOR U.S. CITIZENS

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 8 Jun 87 p 5

[Interview with Gyorgy Aczel, senior associate of HungaroHotels by (g.sz.): "MAGYAR NEMZET Asked: What will HungaroHomes Be Like?"]

[Text] According to the last US census, 1.7 million Americans claimed to be of Hungarian ancestry. Although this figure alone is not enough to draw far-reaching conclusions, some of our business-minded entrepreneurs have discovered that many of these people would like to invest their foreign-earned pensions in a better life back here at home. It was this finding that prompted the preparation of plans for building the new HungaroHomes retirement village in Fot. "How did a hotel enterprise get involved in this business?" we asked Gyorgy Aczel, senior associate of HungaroHotels.

[Answer] The operation of a community like this bears many similarities to the hotel business; I would even venture to say that 40 percent of it is hotel management. We are talking about a colony-like project, consisting of 300 dwellings situated in 3-storeyed buildings complete with sports and entertainment facilities. Before we could proceed with drawing up the plans, however, we had had to wait until the Presidential Council's order regulating the legal status of foreigners granted a permanent lease was put into effect on June 1.

[Question] How did you happen to pick Fot as your site?

[Answer] At first we were also looking at Budaora and Budakeszi. The American partner, a hotel and real estate investment consultant agency, weighed all the considerations, and after a visit to Fot it decided to go with that village. It is close to the capital city--on the M3 expressway it takes only minutes to get there--and the local Verosmarty agricultural cooperative has enough available land that can be obtained by way of a relatively simple legal procedure.

[Question] Who is in charge of recruitment?

[Answer] The campaign is already under way in the US. This is a village that must be sold over there, and operated over here. We will not start construction until we have at least 50 percent of the units committed. The investment is too great for us to go ahead with the project on the basis of hope alone.

[Question] How big an investment are we really talking about?

[Answer] Approximately \$20 million to \$25 million, which will be financed from the deposits of our future residents.

[Question] Who is planning, and who will be building the village?

[Answer] The preliminary plans have already been prepared by KOZTI [Central Planning Office], and the selection of the construction firms will probably be decided by way of competitive bidding. Within 2 years of the ground breaking ceremony we are committed to handing over the first keys, as our future tenants expect punctually observed and short-term deadlines.

9379

CSO: 2500/445



## OBJECTIVE HISTORICAL STUDY OF FORMER RULING CLASS ASSAYED

Budapest VALOSAG in Hungarian No 5, 1987 pp 34-55

[Article by Janos Jozsef Gudenus and Laszlo Szentirmay: "The Fate of the Hungarian Aristocracy After 1945"; previously tabu aspects of Nazi period, Stalinist measures, and 1956 Revolution discussed]

[Excerpts] How did the aristocracy fare in the aftermath of World War II? What places do its members occupy in Hungarian society and in other societies? Our research--or rather, this initial summary--is aimed at finding answers to these questions. It is not our intent to tear open old wounds, nor do we want to provide political rehabilitation for this stratum. Our purpose is to inform present-day historians and to contribute to the creation of a more detailed objective picture.

The fate of the former ruling class remains a "blank spot" in Hungarian historical writing, in sociology, and even in our public consciousness. There is much uncertainty and prejudice regarding the former ruling class. There is virtual ignorance with respect to the use of ranks and titles abolished four decades ago. There has been no comprehensive study concerning the aristocracy. Western publication attract public attention only by virtue of a few memoirs that are more interesting than others, or for instance by virtue of the biased anti-communist and superficial interviews published in the US in 1984.

## Opposition To Nazis, The Resistance

A leading politicians of the era--Horthy's Prime Minister and later counselor to the Regent Count Istvan Bethlen--expressed his opposition to the resolution of the Jewish question pursuant to the German prescription and to the rearrangement of Hungarian political life along the lines of German design. He did so in a parliamentary speech on 10 February 1938. While debating the first Jewish law of 1938 in Parliament, and again, two years later regarding

the second Jewish law, several non-Jewish aristocrats voted against the cabinet proposal. These included Prince Nandor Montenuovo and Count Moric Esterhazy. Count Gyorgy Szechenyi went on record by speaking out against the proposals. On 6 May, the day after the second Jewish law was proclaimed, Bethlen withdrew his candidacy as a representative and announced his retirement from public life. In response Horthy named him a life member of the Upper House. Thus it was no coincidence that following the German occupation Bethlen went underground. While in hiding, however, he conversed with Horthy a number of times. Together with other anglophile politicians (from among the aristocracy in concert with Count Moric Esterhazy and with the Transylvanian Count Bela Teleki) he tried to persuade the Regent to abandon Hungary's alliance with Germany.

Several aristocrats helped to prepare and implement the armistice negotiations. Initially it was Baron Ede Atzel who conducted unofficial, informational discussions with Soviet leaders. In September 1944 Count Ladomer Zichy, whose estate lay on the Northern border of Hungary, conducted negotiations with leaders of the Slovakian partisan command, paving the way for the official Hungarian delegation. Count Geza Teleki, (Pal Teleki's son) was a member of the Faragho delegation and later became a member of the interim cabinet. Several aristocrats, including Bishop Apor developed specific ideas concerning needed changes. Neither they, nor other Catholic personalities leaning toward reform (e.g. Count Gyorgy Szechenyi) survived to see the fall of the old system. When Jews were being forcibly removed, a number of Church establishments and various orders became places of refuge. A significant number of Catholic Church leaders assumed the related risks. These include the above mentioned Bishop Apor, as well as Count Gyula Zichy, Archbishop of Kalocsa. The active resistance too included several aristocrats. In April 1944 communists and left-wing social democrats contacted Count Gyula Dessewffy, editor-in-chief of the Smallholders' Party's KIS UJSAG, and Marquis Gyorgy Pallavicini, the leading personality in the legitimist dual-cross group. In mid-May 1944 both of these individuals took part in the organizational meeting of the Hungarian Front.

On 22 November 1944, agents of the Arrow Cross enforcement authority arrested the leaders of the Hungarian National Insurgent and Liberationist Committee that was formed on 9 November. Unaware of the removal of those arrested, two young, armed officers made an attempt to free those arrested from Tartsay's home. Both officers were killed on the spot. One of them was reserve lieutenant Count Pal Szechenyi. Among those executed on New Year's Eve 1944/1945 in Sopronkohida we find Prince Miklos Odescalchi. As a reserve air force lieutenant attempting to escape, he used his two-seat rapid bomber airplane in June 1944. He was forced to land behind German lines in Italy. Altogether nine aristocrats were held captive in Sopronkohida. We will note here that following the German occupation the list of those to be arrested included several anti-German aristocrats. Some aristocrats were taken to concentration camps.

#### The Arrow Cross Members

Quite naturally, the historic aristocracy included some of the opposite persuasion also. Only a few aristocrats held positions in extreme right-wing

parties. Count Sandor Festetics, for instance, served as minister of defense during the Karolyi cabinet, but later, between 1933 and 1938 he became the leader of the Hungarian National Socialist Party. His followers joined Szalasi in 1938-1939. At that point Festetic retired permanently from the political scene. (He died in Balatonrendes, 12 September 1956.)

Two more "Arrow Cross aristocrats" organized separate political parties in the 1930's. Lajos Szechenyi's Socialist Party to Protect the [Hungarian] Race, and Fidel Palffy's United National Socialist Party merged with the Szalasi movement in 1940.

#### Fundamental Change

Beginning in 1945 the historic aristocracy underwent a fundamental change. As a result of the distribution of land holdings the aristocracy lost the economic base of its ruling position. Provisions contained in the land law and in subsequent orders that favored the former land owners were not implemented in many places. Even those who in recognition of their national resistance activities were entitled to keep 300 acres of land were deprived of their remaining property. To a large degree, the landed gentry was forced to abandon its homes and palaces. In the absence of land and personnel these homes would not have been inhabitable and could not have been maintained anyway. Having lost their huge estates, the former owners manifested a great sense of realism. Mostly aristocrats, according to Szekfu, they did not emigrate to incite against the system. Those who left the country to deny the new system were mainly of a bourgeois background, many of whom actively took part in the unfolding of events. Aristocrats in general acquiesced into the unchangeable, lowered their standard of living and sought civil occupations.

#### Politicking in Hungary

Some aristocrats took an active part in post-war politics. Count Geza Teleki, the armistice delegation member who journeyed to Moscow, became the provisional government's minister of religion and education. Advocates of a civil democracy began to organize political groups in the liberated areas as early as November 1944. Representatives of the "modern civil society" later formed the Radical Democratic Party. Members of the "historic national society" grouped around Teleki founded the Civil Democratic Party. Teleki himself was president of that party from 9 April 1945 until 24 July, at which time he resigned blaming internal disputes and in response to protests lodged by the Hungarian Communist Party [MKP] and the Social Democratic Party [SZDP]. Ladomer Zichy too participated in the establishment of the Civil Democratic Party in Debrecen.

Gyula Dessewffy gained an increased role in the leadership of the Smallholders Party which emerged with a 57 percent majority as a result of the 1945 elections. In response to demands by the Left-Wing Bloc established 5 March 1946, the Smallholders Party [FKGP--the "F" in the abbreviation unknown] stripped 20 of its national assembly representatives from their party membership seven days later. Within a short period of time the Smallholders Party was forced to make concessions, e.g. Dessewffy was relieved of his duties as editor-in-chief of the party's newspaper KIS UJSAG. It was at this

point that "salami tactics" aimed at the liquidation of all other political parties began. In late 1946 the official communist party organ SZABAD NEP demanded that the FKGP strip several politicians from party membership. Dessewffy was among them. By summer 1947 signs of party disintegration appeared more frequently; some party leaders, including Dessewffy chose to emigrate.

Except for those exemplified above, members of the historic aristocracy who remained in Hungary chose to remove themselves from the political scene. Only a very few sided with Marxism or socialism, and an even smaller number joined the communist party. In this respect Margit Odescalchi, the so called "red princess" deserves mention, in addition to the well-publicized stories of the Karolyi couple. Margit was the sister of Miklos Odescalchi, the air force officer executed in Sopronkohida. She was married to Count Gyorgy Apponyi, who was taken to concentration camps for his well-known anti-German sentiments. Margit Odescalchi was enthused by the changes that took place. She was determined to take part in Hungary's reconstruction, by working, in the literal sense of that term. As an unskilled shipyard worker she helped restore the blown-up bridges and the workers elected her as their representative. In later days, as a leader of the Women's Association she worked at the press relations section of the foreign ministry and served at the Hungarian embassy in Washington. This period was followed by years of painful neglect, and later by emigration. In addition to Margit Odescalchi, the communist party had one more aristocrat member. The Marquis Antal Pallavicini became an officer of the people's army. Signifying rejection of his family ties, he changed his name to Palinkas.

1956

Following the year of change, former aristocrats could not even think of taking part in politics or in public life. The "thaw", the politics of the "new phase" that followed Stalin's death, did not produce substantial change. The experience of the "fifties" heavily scarred the former aristocracy and thus, with a few exceptions, this group did not at all participate in the events of 1956. This fact is supported by leading Hungarian and Western publications.

In analyzing the causes of the October events, the 3-5 December 1956 resolution of the MSZMP interim CC makes a passing reference to aristocrats: "... the (counter-revolutionary) forces were represented by Mindszenty, B. Szabo, Prince Lichtenstein and by radio announcements made by others. Prince Esterhazy and Count Takach-Tolvay emerged openly agitating for the restoration of capitalism." Volume 2 of the 1957 "White Paper" published in Budapest states that "in a few places former land-owners demanded restoration of their estates, Otto Habsburg sought the return of the Hungarian Crown, emigre counts appeared in the most elegant hotels of Sopron (Peter Draskovich, "Nicolas" Festetics and Albert Apponyi were mentioned in Volume 3,) and Prince Lichtenstein too paid a visit to Hungary. The latter arrived in Budapest accompanied by Count Eltz and Countess Beatrix Szechenyi on behalf of the Charitable Service of the Maltese Order of Knights. They were received by Jozsef Mindszenty. On behalf of the Maltese Order of Knights the younger Counts Hoyos also visited Hungary.



According to the "White Paper" more than 13,000 prisoners were freed from various prisons across the country, including almost 10,000 common criminals. Among the 25 prisoners named, the "White Paper" mentions Prince Pal Esterhazy convicted as part of the Mindszenty proceedings, as well as Prince Peter Odescalchi, arrested in 1956 on charges of spying for the CIA. The treatment of Pal Esterhazy's role in 1956 is limited to a statement by which Esterhazy told off a cleaning woman in Parliament on 3 November for not recognizing him. "Among the parties that began to organize in the wake of 23 October we find the Catholic People's Party and its designated leader, the former landed aristocrat and industrialist Count Khuen-Hedervary. Former minister of industry 'baron' Geza Bornemisza helped organize that party." The "White Book" also mentions Baron Tibor Bokonyi who emerged in the process of forming the workers council of the Budapest 11th district Mixed Trade Repair Enterprise. Bokonyi was named to replace the former worker director of that enterprise. The "White Paper" erroneously designates Bokonyi and Bornemisza as barons.

Ervin Hollos and Janos Molnar were unable to find many aristocratic names in their search of court records. From among those freed from prison, Molnar designates e.g. Peter Odescalchi, Pal Esterhazy, and Horthyist generals "count" Pal Almasy and Count Jozsef Takach-Tolvay as "Arrow Cross war criminals." (General Almasy descended from the non-aristocratic branch of the family, while General Takach-Tolvay died in 1945.) Hollos and Molnar also mention Count Gyorgy Szechenyi who spent years in prison following Liberation. According to these reports Szechenyi took armed part in the 1956 events and later escaped. Once in the FRG he established the Association of Former Political Prisoners and became the editor of the ultra-right-wing POLITIKAI FOGOLY [Political Prisoner].

Hollos also writes about the perhaps best known aristocrat of the 1956 events: People's Army Major Antal Palinkas (the Marquis Pallavicini) who used his troops to liberate Jozsef Mindszenty from the Felsopeten castle and to accompany him to Budapest. Major Palinkas was sentenced to death and executed.

The report of the UN Special Committee concerned with the 1956 Hungarian events emphasized that recommendations advocating the return of real properties to former owners, or the voiding of the nationalization of Hungarian industry did not prevail. Landed aristocrats like Pal Esterhazy rejected any such intent.

The comprehensive volume that contains the most recent research findings of the Hollos couple is low keyed with respect to domestic and foreign information deemed worthy of publication. Aside from the former aristocrats Antal "Pallavichini" (properly: Pallavicini) (and the West German Prince Lowenstein) only Pal Esterhazy is being mentioned--first without mentioning him by name, and later by mentioning his name in the context of quoting a sarcastic remark from Gyorgy Marosan's 1959 book. Earlier publications do not mention what the Hollos couple presents without indicating the source, namely that Hungarian land-owners in Burgenland aided the "revolution" as part of the activities of the order of knights of Malta. The Hollos couple lists Counts Erdody and "Klotild Bonilli Lichtenstein" together with Pal Esterhazy.



## **Trials**

Not even an approximation is possible regarding the number of, and the extent to which former ruling class members suffered lawful or unlawful denigration mostly prior to, but even after 1956. In any event, the words of Ivan T. Berend at a 1982 scientific conference provide reason for pause. Speaking of the so called "fifties," the period between 1948 and the mid-1950's, Berend said that about a quarter of the population suffered injustices of one kind or another (imprisonment, police proceedings, harrassments.) We have only fragmentary data in this respect, some of which is authentic, some less reliable.

The People's Courts began their activities already prior to Liberation, and ceased to exist in the Spring of 1950. People's judges rendered decisions with respect to 55,000 individuals, less than half of these (27,000) was "convicted", almost 25 percent of those tried were released, while the rest of the cases were concluded in different ways, according to Tibor Zinner. One-hundred-eighty-nine of the 477 death sentences were executed (among those executed we find a few Arrow Cross aristocrats mentioned before.) Compared to the people's court decisions of victorious as well as defeated countries, the calling to account took place at a low rate in Hungary, according to Zinner.

Soon after the conclusion of the war the political identification of public officials began, followed by dismissals in 1946. The dismissals were planned by the communists on the basis of politics, and by the smallholders purely as a matter of economics. The fact is that while in early 1946 there were some 400,000 public employees, their number in 1938 amounted to less than half of that. The planned dismissal of more than 100,000 individuals actually materialized in 60,000 dismissals. In 1948, however, 100,000 new public employee positions were established. There were many aristocrats among those dismissed.

In the decade following the war, and especially between 1950 and 1953 there was an exceptionally large number of political trials. According to a classification rendered by Hegedus, there were (a) the truly anti-Soviet conspiracies that were avenged without mercy; (b) the fundamentally insignificant spy cases provoked primarily by Western news agencies (e.g. the photographing of a railroad station--insignificant assignments) which in most instances resulted in death sentences; (c) the conceptual trials against non-communists (e.g. the "Hungarian Commonwealth trials," the "Mindszenty" and the "Grosz" trials); and (d) the communist (and military) conceptual trials (the publicized Rajk case, and the unpublicized Szakasits, Marosan and Kadar cases, etc.) The resolution promulgated during the June 1953 CC session which partly revealed the violations of law and arbitrary actions, and promised new policies, indicates that between 1950 and the first quarter of 1953 the courts tried 650,000 individuals and convicted 387,000. (The text of the CC resolution did not become available for quite some time. It was published recently.) In his book emigre Istvan Fehervary reports that between 1945 and 1956 there were several hundred political trials which resulted in death sentences and in long-term imprisonment. A majority of these--except for the artificially concocted trials--were closed to the public. According to Hegedus, between 1947 and 1956 about 800 people were sentenced to death, and

the ratio of common criminal cases barely reached the 50 percent mark. Fehervary lists the names of 230 executed individuals who were involved in political cases. We find no aristocratic names among these. Fehervary briefly reports on 191 of the cases against non-communists, listing 700 names with the corresponding sentences. Among these there were only 6 individuals of aristocratic descent, and even those were far from being primary defendants. The exception is the fourth-class defendant in the Mindszenty case: Prince Pal Esterhazy was sentenced to 15 years in prison. All this reinforces our hypothesis according to which members of the former aristocracy who stayed in Hungary did not exert any significant anti-state activity, even though for reasons understandable, they did not "sympathize" with the new system.

It frequently occurred that following a brief prison sentence, a secret police [AVO] car awaited the prisoner being freed at the Vac or Budapest prison gate. These prisoners were taken to internment camps in Kistarcsa or Recsk. There is no official record of the number of interned. Some Western (emigre) sources estimate that the number of interned persons in 1952 amounted to 44,000. In his book concerning Recsk, emigre Sandor Erdey reports that there were internment camps throughout Hungary, in the vicinity of county seats and of large cities. Erdey's estimate of the number of interned persons is 300,000. According to Fehervary, some 25,000-30,000 persons have been at the Kistarcsa internment camp at one time or another. At the end of his book about Recsk Erdey lists the names of 868 inmates. Among them there were five counts.

The kind of deportation by which families were taken to closed agricultural forced labor camps may be viewed as internment also. These forced labor camps were surrounded with barbed wire fences and were guarded by AVO soldiers and police dogs. These include, e.g. the 19 so called "social camps" of Hortobagy. There were forced laborers in Hortobagy already prior to the 1951-1952 mass deportations. In 1950, people deemed to be "unreliable" were removed from the Western border region. And there were deportations from settlements near the Yugoslavian border. The latter were acknowledged in SZABAD NEP during the summer of 1950.

Mass deportations from Budapest and from large cities across the country took place in the Summer of 1951. These may be viewed as a separate, unified action. The exact number of those exiled between 21 May and 18 July is not known. Contemporary Western and emigre press reports estimated their number between 25,000 and 50,000. The first official report in this respect was contained in the 17 June issue of SZABAD NEP. According to that report, among the 924 families exiled prior to 15 June there were 6 princes, 52 counts and 41 barons. (The summary is ours.) SZABAD NEP lists a number of counts / name, e.g. Esterhazy, Hunyady, Keglevich, Hoyos, as well as Prince Montenuovo. SZABAD NEP acknowledged the fact that the news of deportations evoked a rather strong reaction from the West. The Embassy of Israel in Budapest was first to file a protest. And SZABAD NEP's sarcastic response followed: "... it seems that (for the Israeli Embassy) it is equally painful to witness the deportation of the Baron Kornfeld, the Baron Kohner, or for that matter the exile of General Richard Rapaics or Colonel General Camillo Karpati."

A lead editorial by Jozsef Revai appeared in the 7 August issue of SZABAD NEP. In what appears to be a final tally of deportations, the editorial reports the removal from Budapest of 4281 families, among them 9 princes, 163 counts, 121 barons and 8 knights. In addition to those mentioned in the 17 June article, the editorial names Count "Arzen" Csekonics, Count Miklos Markovich, Count Gyorgy Zichy, Baron Gabor Pronay, Baron Karoly Kruchina, and from among the bankers, the Baron Hazai.

According to the research findings of Andras Ratki, 5893 Budapest families received deportation notices. In the end, 5182 families, or 12,704 persons were exiled. Ratki adds: fearing deportation, another 1,200-1,400 families voluntarily moved to the countryside. Ratki classifies the exiles in a manner similar to SZABAD NEP. The only difference between the two classifications is that Ratki does not separate those of aristocratic descent (most certainly they were listed among the 1028 individuals having "other occupations".)

The 1951 suicide of the well-known actor Artur Somlay, protesting the deportations evoked strong reaction in artistic circles and among the intelligentsia.

Kazmer Nagy reports that following the 1963 amnesty a large number of 1956 refugees returned to visit Hungary. Thereby the political emigration lost tens of thousands of its theretofore passive supporters. Nagy was disturbed and disappointed by the fact that several thousand persons from all parts of the world permanently returned to Hungary. According to Nagy, beginning in the mid-Sixties, recruitment of the remaining forces of the political emigration was a weak imitation compared to previous levels of activity.

The changed situation in Hungary, the increasingly favorable experiences of those visiting Hungary, and not to the least, the flexibility of dispersed relations maintained by the Hungarian government helped accomplish the fact that beginning in the 1970's emigre politicians who previously rejected the idea of dialog, began to view favorably the idea of visiting Hungary. Among these politicians we find (Count) Gyula Desseuffy, who described his September 1985 visit in terms of recognition, nevertheless critically.

This study is a brief sketch of the summary of our findings. We do not view it as a closed book, as one that provides a characteristic analysis of historic values. Perhaps many will feel that the portrait of the aristocracy presented herein is too "bright." It is a fact, however, that with the exception of studies by Szekfu, Weis and Erdei we have not mentioned any other characteristic criticism that is one-sided and sharp. Among writings critical of the aristocracy it is the excellent, grandiose trilogy by Count Miklos Banffy that stands out. ("Transylvanian History" published between 1934 and 1940.) Regarding the trilogy Zsigmond Moricz had this to say: "No one has ever dealt with the living Hungarian aristocracy in such relentless and merciless fashion."

#### Note

This work had its beginnings in 1985, at the request of Sandor Orban, division chief of the Historical Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences [MTA].

Research is being supported by the Soros Foundation. Most of our research consists of library and archival search. We must thoroughly examine relevant literature that is in short supply, including domestic and foreign books, periodicals and even daily papers, all of which are of mixed quality. The examination of various pre-war and post-war encyclopedias, almanachs, registers and annual reports, as well as of published and unpublished memoirs that appeared in Hungary and elsewhere is indispensable. And so are personal consultations with historians, sociologists and other experts. The significant part of the work is ahead of us--we intend to visit with surviving members of the historic aristocracy, alternatively with their nearest descendents, so that we may discuss their fate on the basis of a questionnaire. Participation in this assessment will be on a voluntary basis of course. Participants will be doing us a great favor for which we owe thanks. After all, at this point we are in the 24th hour --it would be a shame to lose valuable personal information pertaining to the historic change--information that cannot be recovered from any written document. The personal information to be conveyed will be treated as confidential by the MTA Historical Institute. Any detail related to named persons may be published only with the permission of that person.

12995

CSO: 2500/414



## HISTORY OF TRANSYLVANIA WRITERS DISCUSS METHODS, SOURCES

Budapest KRITIKA in Hungarian May 1987 pp 25-28

[Interview with Bela Kopeczi, minister of culture; Laszlo Makkai, historian; Istvan Bona, historian; Zoltan Szasz, historian, as contributing authors to the 3 volume "History of Transylvania" by Andras Gero. Based on a February 1987 radio interview, "Changes in History": "Dispute Over the History of Transylvania"]

[Text] Andras Gero: One of the most important projects of Hungarian history was completed at the end of last year: The "History of Transylvania" was published in three volumes. This comprehensive work deals with a significant part of our past as a state and nation; the history of a part of Hungary, sometime in the past, that has been tossed about a great deal. Until the break-up of the country into three parts in 1541, Transylvania was an integral part of the Hungarian state and, subsequently, it retained Hungarian culture under very adverse circumstances within the country broken into three. When Hungary was liberated from under the Turks, the area came under Habsburg domination and Transylvania was governed separately. It became an organic part again with the union in 1848 or rather the compromise in 1867. Since World War I, with a brief interruption, it has belonged to Rumania. As a consequence, much passion has been concentrated around it, which had a lasting effect reaching into the present. Consequently, it is not all the same what is written in the recently published three volumes, how the fate and history of Transylvania is viewed by Hungarian history. Professional discernment could greatly help in quieting possible passions. Thus, my first question addresses the professional creditability of this work, that is, in the language of historians: what are the sources on the basis of which such a broadly spanning piece of work can be written?

Bela Kopeczi: The sources are, of course, very important from the standpoint of being able to write objective history. But, in addition to the sources, the vantage point is also important. The different ages have very different source materials, of course, and I believe that in dealing with the history of Transylvania not only the written sources must be considered but also the relics which were preserved either above or below ground and which bear witness to the history of a given epoch even in the absence of written sources. In the debates surrounding the history of Transylvania, one of the neuralgic points is who lived in Transylvania--the earlier Dacia, if you



1956--at the time when the Hungarians settled in the Carpathian basin. This question can hardly be settled on the basis of written sources; consequently, the various objective finds are of particular importance here. And I make a big jump here: I shall talk about the history after 1918. Examining what kind of sources we have, especially since 1945, with respect to the economic, social and cultural development of Transylvania, I must say that often the most elemental data are missing: namely, statistical analysis of data that bear on given developmental trends does not yield information on ethnicity. Under such circumstances, for example, one cannot really say how the Hungarians, or Rumanians, or the Saxon or Swabian population of Transylvania may be divided into social categories, what may be their occupational composition. Even the cultural data are not quite exact since the Rumanian language is used in a significant number of the schools even at places inhabited by the Hungarian or Saxon population and the number of schools using the other languages is not precisely known.

Istvan Bona: The written sources covering the period from the surrender of Dacia to the settling of the Magyars in Hungary could have been printed on about four or five pages but it would be merely a bunch of disconnected sentences. They are highly significant for proving the presence of certain populations but a coherent history could not have been written on the basis of them. At this point archeology enters which was of merely illustrative significance for history during the period before World War II while now it has advanced to become the principal source even for the Roman period, considering that the new source material, from numismatics to inscriptions, is produced by archeologists. The importance of this period has grown to the same measure as in our country also in Rumania, including Transylvania; a similar museum network was developed in the 1950s, served by archeologists, which publish journals and annals; thus I had to go through a great number of professional publications compared to earlier times. By its nature, the professional literature was mostly in Rumanian but, Transylvania being the subject, the Saxon and Hungarian archeologists, and publications and journals in German and in Hungarian, were also always present in Transylvanian archeological research. Moreover, the large comprehensive work on the early Middle Ages was written by a Saxon archeologist. This Saxon archeologist had recently left Kolozsvár and Nagyvárad and moved to Germany where, simultaneously with our work, a large monograph of his appeared in which, in a break with his earlier work, he divides the age which I also discussed into three large segments: the German period, the Slavic period and the Hungarian period. The difference is that, in my work, the Avar period, too, was given significance. Well, it is very difficult for the archeologist to work without finds, without knowing the region and the country. During the past six years, I roamed all over Transylvania, visited every museum, the passes and the valleys, and I also attempted to obtain, either from Transylvania or from Frankfurt, the archeological literature that deals with this period. Thus, it may be said that I looked through the entire Rumanian professional literature on the subject and everything exhibited in the museums up to the beginning of 1956--irrespective of what is written on the glass-cases because I, as an experienced archeologist, know anyway whether it is a Gepid vessel or not, whatever the label may say.

Andras Gerö: In the case of László Makkai, we are fortunate to have seated here the person from whose pen the previous comprehensive history of Transylvania appeared in 1945, I believe for the last time, in Hungary. To him the question also becomes personal: with respect to sources, was it easier or more difficult to write the part allocated to him in the current work?

László Makkai: Regrettably, it was not easier. As my colleague Bona mentioned earlier, the scarcity of sources is great and continues to be so in the Middle Ages. Until 1250, that is, roughly up to the time of the Mongol invasion, the entire Transylvanian source material could be published in a thin little booklet. Most documents reveal only that X.1. Transylvanian bishop or X.1. Transylvanian voivod, the date: Gyulafehérvár. That's all. The text reveals nothing. It does not even deal with Transylvania. There are a few additional chronicle fragments which could be published on 7 or 8 pages. At the same time, however, two grave problems arose. One is that, during the past 50 years, an enormous literature has grown up regarding the beginnings of the feudal European world which also affects us. The problematic issues of the entire feudal Europe have changed; it was due to the contribution especially of French scientists but also of others that today we see the entire set of these problems, and in their reflection Transylvanian feudalism, differently. The history of the Middle Ages in Transylvania represents a very interesting, extraordinary case for us: the periphery of a world, namely, of Western feudalism. But, at the same time, this is a strikingly strange region, we might perhaps say, the border between two worlds. Namely, in the 10th century, following the Hungarian conquest, a very exciting issue had to be resolved: whether Transylvania will belong to Eastern or Western Christianity. Namely, if King Istvan had not taken Transylvania from the Transylvanian Gyula-s (war leaders and dignitaries), then the very strange situation could have occurred indeed that two Hungarian nations would have been established just as we know two such nations speaking one language: the Serbs and the Croats. They are separated by religion although they speak the same language. Well, through the conquest by King Istvan and the defeat of the Transylvanian Gyula-s, Transylvania became attached to the Western type of feudalism. This, in turn, also created an extraordinarily peculiar situation with respect to the Transylvanian Rumanians. On the one hand--adhering to their Orthodox religion--their culture (about which in the past, let us admit, Hungarian scientists reported much too little and in the current Transylvanian history--we dare say--we could deal with it honestly and decently, and also with adequate scope) bound them to the Eastern Church. At the same time, they followed the Western type in their social development. Consequently, as the Rumanian "kenez", these enterprising settlers, the leaders of individual settling groups, rose on the social ladder, they were assimilated into the Hungarian nobility and into a Western type development. Therefore, it seems to me that our current work would also claim international attention in this respect since it describes the medieval history of a region where truly two worlds meet and both worlds show their own forceful profile. The other remark again pertains to the sources and again the same problem arises: which are the sources after all. And shockingly we must state that even in this age, that is, even after the Mongol invasion, when documents occur if not by the thousands then by the hundreds, it is still the place names that are the principal source. Linguistics still is the principal source, and it is a very hard source. It is hard because we are in the very fortunate situation that

the mode of naming localities differs widely among all three Transylvanian nationalities. The Hungarian mode of naming localities is totally unequivocal until about 1270, because it gives a proper name in the nominative. Say, for instance, Alparet which is the Hungarian version of a German proper name, Albrecht. Or let us see another name: Drag. One would think that it could be Rumanian or could be Slavic, but it can be neither. Because if it were Rumanian, it would be Dragul; if it were Slavic, it would be Dragovszce or the like. Drag is a locality named by a Hungarian individual using a Slavic word. Well, this makes our work much easier because we can map the particular areas where the villages were named by Germans, Hungarians and Rumanians. It must be added that, underlying all this, extensive naming of locations by Slavs also occurred. Consequently, when these peoples arrived here, all three of them, Hungarians, Rumanians, and Saxons alike, still found Slavs living in this area who spoke a Slavic language.

Zoltan Szasz: The source material from the 18th and 19th centuries, particularly important from the aspect of the formation of current awareness, is already enormous. This is the age of the press, of regular, official statistics, the analytical works of contemporaries are appearing already from Saxon, Hungarian and Rumanian sides alike. We can, nevertheless, state that we also suffer from a scarcity of sources because a very large amount of material was lost in the National Archives and even more was lost of material kept elsewhere; family legacies had disappeared and a line of archival material cannot be considered to be available. The closer we approach the present--and this makes the investigator's work more difficult--the greater is the sense of historical and political passion through which these epochs are viewed by public opinion. Therefore, it is extremely important that, above all, we emphasize calm analysis; instead of substituting new evaluations for old ones, by turning the old evaluations over and over again, we should rather examine what processes were started, what processes were advanced and what processes were slowed down by a given historical change or a given political-historical measure, in a given historical period, and we should define the principal content of a given period from this vantage point. The 18th century is extremely important with respect to the development of the Hungarian national consciousness but, in the case of Transylvania, it is also particularly essential for the national development of the Rumanians. The end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries are the period when the theory and doctrine of Dacian-Roman continuity, as a view destined to serve as the historical foundation of the rights of the Rumanian nation, evolved and also spread within the framework of the Transylvanian school. This is the period when pursuit of a Latin type of writing becomes stronger, becoming dominant in the entire Rumanian language region over the earlier Cyrillic script, by the second half of the century. The economic and social history of the 19th century, the period of modern bourgeois transformation, deserves special attention in Transylvania because it caused a region arrested in its development to move from its previous, stagnant condition. These are then the main problems of the age of reform. And then come the questions of 1848-49, the revolution and fight for freedom, nation, revolution, progress, liberalism, to what extent do they run parallel, to what extent do they oppose each other, what led to the tragic conflict situation which developed in Transylvania at the end of 1848 and in 1849. And these are all topped by the great problems of the period after 48-49, following the bourgeois revolutions:

economic modernization and the problems of further changes in social structure, the build up of the transportation network, mining and metallurgy, the development of the institutional systems of the individual ethnic groups, the questions related to churches, schools, cultural associations and economic organizations. These had to be resolved all at once in such a manner that they would fit in with the European, especially the Central-East-European developmental processes while, at the same time, they would also demonstrate one by one the unique regional problems of the individual peoples, Hungarians, Saxons and Rumanians.

Andras Gero: Bela Kopeczi also listed among the sources the attitude with which we approach these problems. Let me return to the section written by him which must have been very difficult in this respect. After all, the period following Trianon, when Transylvania is no longer part of Hungary, is the most passionate period not only because, after Trianon, public thought was suffused by the spirit of revisionism in Hungarian historical scholarship and also among publicists, but also because, after 1945 and mainly after 48, an opposing basic stand prevailed, namely, that the problem of national affiliation becomes dwarfed in the spirit of proletarian internationalism. When the post-Trianon section was written, what supportive viewpoints were available for escaping from these very dangerous situations?

Bela Kopeczi: The first is perhaps a question of form. In total agreement with my fellow editors and authors, we came to the conclusion that the part after 1918 we should consider as a brief outlook: a sketch describing the main trends, perhaps a summary, since this period cannot be discussed through a fully valid historical approach. I believe that this reluctance is completely justified. Above all, it is justified for the reasons discussed in the beginning, namely, that we have no sources. It is also justified because, during this post-1918 period, certain processes are in effect the extent and course of which cannot yet be seen today. Not even after the passing of several decades. After all, the historian writes better about completed processes. That certain keeping a distance, which was so sharply condemned at one time, is necessary in the evaluation of events in recent times. Well, what was our attitude when writing? We were in agreement with my fellow editors and authors that we must not follow in the footsteps of the old, nationalist approach to history writing. It was our most determined intent to break with the tradition which considers as its model the writing of history in the service of some assumed or, at one time, genuine national interest. It holds true for Hungarian just as for Rumanian and Saxon writing of history. This also meant that, from the beginning, we did not assume the standpoint of polemics but our goal was to relate our own opinions on the basis of the sources and our striving for objectivity. Part of it is that we had a conception of what history is. I think the history of Transylvania is a novelty also in the sense that we utilized, in a very conscious manner, the experiences with methodology gathered in recent times by Hungarian and international history writing. It is a method which we used in an attempt to examine the truly great processes and great trends in economics, society, ethnicity and culture alike. There has never before been a history of Transylvania which would have attempted to examine both the events and personalities in such a complex manner. And if I add that, from the beginning, we have accepted to write the history of all three ethnic groups in the above



complex manner, then this also means that we had to examine the mutual effects, we had to compare the manifestations of the same processes in the individual ethnic groups and along with this, naturally, we had to discover also the differences. I believe that such an undertaking is a great test for every historian. It is another question to what extent this undertaking succeeded and whether we could assert these principles and this method to the same extent in every one of the periods.

Laszlo Makkai: There was and still is a pitfall in the way of looking at things that we tried to avoid whenever possible: it is the combination of history with rights. What is the meaning of historical claim? If we interpret historical claim in terms of what both Hungarian and Rumanian history writings have amply committed against each other, namely, that such a right represents the loss of right for the other side, in other words, historical claim to an area, historical claim to an economic source, and so on; if it is accompanied by a loss of rights for a people who live together and carry the same fate, in that moment history writing becomes a club used against the other human being. And we know that this problem has existed to this day. It has existed, by now also in another context. Let me put it this way: every ethnic group has a right to its own history. Therefore, trying to argue away its own history is a kind of deprivation of rights. It is a fact and it must be acknowledged that Hungarian history writing of old--and I would not even remove myself personally from this accusation--to a certain extent wanted to deprive the Rumanian people of their right to their own history. Therefore, we kept silent about things we should not have kept silent about. I hinted earlier at the very characteristic, very valuable cultural history of the Rumanian people, not without merit from the aspect of humanity. And I must state frankly that there are similar attempts now on the other side: they are trying to rob from the Hungarian people in Transylvania their own history. Unfortunately, we are even on this score. In my opinion, every ethnic group must be granted the right to its own history, but granting this right should not represent a loss of rights for the other group. I consider this an important problem involving attitude.

Bela Kopevzi: This is true and perhaps something else must be added. We also broke with the backward projection which characterized the old way of writing Hungarian history and which characterizes a trend in Rumanian history writing today, namely, that one starts with current conditions in order to explain the past and, particularly, reflecting backward the current ethnic conditions to describe the type of national and ethnic development that existed in Transylvania either in the Middle Ages or in the 16th and 17th centuries, and so on. This represents a certain historical anachronism and, in our opinion, at the end of the 20th century, one must not return to certain traditions of the romantic writing of history. The existence of such approaches could be justified then since every nation was searching for its ancestors and tried to find the most glorious ancestors possible. We Hungarians did the same, starting with Attila through many others. We live at the end of the 20th century and we must represent a realistic historical approach which takes into consideration the circumstances and also the consciousness of a given period instead of using the method of backward projection.

Aniras Gero: These are completely straightforward matters in principle but, in



my view, the situation is not that simple and this is the next topic which I should like us to discuss. In the volume, the controversies--not only within Hungarian historical science but, let us say, also the debates between Hungarian and Rumanian historical science--are formally resolved by relegating the references to them, or the indications of different points of view, to the set of footnotes. In the main text itself, there is no debate but an exposition of the view currently represented by Hungarian historical science. Well, but what happens when conflicts arise regarding problems--as mentioned also by Laszlo Makkai and Bela Kopecki--where the debate or, more precisely, the elaboration of a point of view, becomes focussed on problems that involve political legitimacy. Thus, for example, the question of continuity in association with the Dacian-Roman theory; or here is the principle mentioned by Laszlo Makkai: let us grant every ethnic group the right to its history. There are periods, for example 48 to 49, where the problem becomes polarized or becomes an either-or. How can the assertion of these pure principles be assured when the demands of scholarly truth but also the demands for rejecting national exaggerations point in the same direction, the direction of sharp polemics.

Istvan Bona: In effect, the Dacian-Roman continuity never achieved a decisive victory even in the Rumanian world of scholarship. Thus, there always have been and to this day there are investigators who in their work discuss and present the subject matter realistically. Thus, with respect to nearly every problem, one can find Rumanian, Saxon and Hungarian investigators whose opinions agree on certain points, let us say, the existence of a Gothic period in Transylvania after the evacuation of Dacia by the Romans. There is agreement here on the part of British, French, German, Scandinavian and even a significant segment of the Rumanian historians. It is a matter of detail how certain investigators attempt to put this Gothic period in parallel with a certain Roman survival. Similarly, there is general agreement in the whole of European scholarship that, in the 5th to 6th century, there was a Gepid period in Transylvania even to the extent that Transylvania may be assumed to have been the seat of the Gepid kingdom, or rather not merely assumed since such opulent royal graves were found the like of which exists only in one case, from this period, in Europe. And there have always been investigators, there still are, who evaluated as Avar the Avar finds in Transylvania.

Andras Gero: Forgive me for the interruption; I don't see why it is such a big deal if someone evaluates an Avar find for what it is?

Istvan Bona: It is a big deal because, except for the Hungarian and Austrian researchers, these are generally not evaluated as such but rather the Avar empire is dismembered into the countries of today. Thus, say in Slovakia, they exist as Avar-Slavic, and so forth. Furthermore, it was very helpful that, in the early 1950's, a considerable state-supported Slavic research campaign was conducted throughout Rumania but mainly in Transylvania. Through this campaign, in which chiefly Saxon and Hungarian but also Rumanian archeologists participated, an enormous amount of Slavic material was unearthed from regions where--as we well knew before--Slavs must have lived on the basis of the names of localities. Today, a long list of settlements and graveyards can attest to

the existence of a very significant, archeologically manifest Slav period from the beginning of the 7th century up to the 11th century, that is, reaching into the period of the Hungarian conquest and founding of the state.

Andras Gero: What is the situation if the same problem and the assertion of the same principles arises in connection with 1848; namely, objectivity and the absence of national bias, as one principle, and the right of every ethnic group to its own history, as another principle, while the simple fact is that people are shooting at each other. And on one side one shoots at the Hungarian revolution, on the other side one also shoots at perhaps justified national aspirations but, in the final analysis, fights with the ally of the counterrevolution. How can these principles be asserted and, at the same time, these bloody controversies chronicled? Are we not falling into the trap of perhaps taking a too narrowly defined stand, or perhaps we don't even dare to take a stand and merely describe instead? And in general, is taking a stand necessary at all respecting these problems?

Zoltan Szasz: There is no history writing which could avoid the evaluative aspect. I want to emphasize, however, that these controversies have two main components. There is a professional and, more importantly, a political-awareness component. We wrote above all a professional, scholarly work here. Consequently, we concerned ourselves primarily with the professional aspects and we attempted to resolve these professional problems at the current level of scholarship, approaching historical truth as much as possible. But it is not the question that we would split hairs over controversial problems. Not at all. One cannot find a solution where we would make some equalizing compromise and, mixing one nationalist stand with another, bring about a new synthesis or dish out justice on a fifty-fifty basis. This is not what it is about. If the old, Hungarian nationalist history writing was wrong with respect to one, another or yet another problem, it does not follow that an anti-Hungarian approach to history is right. In these volumes, we used the approach that, mainly through new investigations, new questions and with new modes of approach, we depicted these extremely complex matters. For instance, regarding the question of 1848-49: yes, whoever fought with arms against the revolutionary government in 48-49 was naturally the ally of the counterrevolution and, at that time, this was evaluated the same way also by the classicists of Marxism. But our task is to proceed further and point out clearly regarding all of those forces which were in or drifted into the service of the counterrevolution, what factors made them land here, what additional revolutionary potential did they have and what were the causes that led to such tragic opposition between the Hungarian and Rumanian aspirations. By the way, the tragic aspects of this situation were immediately and instantly recognized by the contemporaries themselves. We know about such Hungarian letters from 48-49, Rumanian declarations from 48-49; we are acquainted with the attempts in 49 to reconcile the aspirations of Rumanian and Hungarian advancement. And the same is true for the later periods. Because it is true, for instance, that the compromise in 1867 had many politically weighty aspects for ethnic minorities which were difficult for them to accept, representing, one might say, tools for national suppression; however, with respect to Transylvania we have to add that, for the first time in history, it united for example--according to the distinctions at the time--the Rumanians of Transylvania and of Hungary. Which again had its own great significance

because, even after it, decades were required for a unified Rumanian political thought to develop in the Hungarian kingdom.

Andras Gero: Yes, I understand this, but I still think that these must have been serious burdens and human-professional problems. After all, in the course of writing, one also deals with ethical values, also represents an ethical value system. And, in this respect, the approach used in the work: "History of Transylvania" can indeed be termed exemplary. A nearly impossible task had to be performed because ethical values, professional truths and objectivity had to be amalgamated.

Bela Kopeczi: Permit me to return to the ethical value. What is the highest ethical value? Respect for the individual and the associations of people and acceptance of their rights. Simultaneously, of course, also the examination of the relationship between ethnic minorities and progress in the context of various strivings in given periods. But I believe that the most important thing for us was, and it is particularly important now, at the end of the 20th century, to acknowledge each other's rights. Let us acknowledge and make them acknowledge each other's rights even if history is the subject. We already discussed that every national group has a right to its own history, but let me add that every ethnic minority also has a right to its present. And our ethical mandate was that, in the face of the nationalist wave that has been growing in recent times in various parts of Europe--not only in Central-East-Europe--well, in the face of this nationalism which wants to suppress, we are protecting freedom, the freedom of human rights. I think that this much pathos is permissible when discussing this problem.

Andras Gero: It was mentioned that the different mode of viewing, the inclusion of certain sources, and the inaccessibility of certain sources in other areas, also constrained the course of writing. Nevertheless, even in the case of such comprehensive work, the question can be rightfully raised what new results were achieved from the aspect of Hungarian scholarship by the "History of Transylvania"? What did we add to our knowledge by publishing this volume?

Laszlo Makkai: Let me say, so that Istvan Bona is not compelled to praise himself, that the archeological material is the most valuable of all the new materials. This is not subject to debate. Never yet was all the material so fundamentally summarized, representing the research of the unfortunate Andras Mocsí, who died recently, into Roman times but especially the problems of the age of the great migrations--concerning Goths, Gepids and Avars. The deep darkness was pierced by reflector lights thanks to archeology. Istvan Bona can still discuss the details, of course. With respect to new material related to the Middle Ages, I should say that the sources were not enriched; one thing, however, must still be considered a debt requiring further work: the regional elaboration of the history of Transylvania which has not yet been accomplished. I myself have been working on Hunyad megye for the past seven years and I am still foraging through medieval documents from village to village. This is a gap. But, at the same time, the elucidation of certain problems has been a very positive step. Here, I must refer to ethnography which taught us a great deal. Some time ago, we Hungarians disposed of the ancient history of the Rumanian people very simply by stating that they were

nomadic shepherds. It turned out that in no way was there nomadism; we well know the meaning of transhumance, which is pasture rotation, that it does not exclude the simultaneous presence of agriculture; therefore, the derogatory meaning is inherent in the word nomadic--by the way, to this day, the word has been applied to us in a derogatory manner by Rumanian historians. We ourselves have already resolved this problem. Ethnographers helped us to do so. This, for example, is a novelty. Another is that we made extraordinary advances in cultural history and, in my opinion, this is the key that enables the national groups of Transylvania to approach each other with greater appreciation: when we recognize and discover what the culture of another ethnic group, its colorfulness, represents and what is the meaning of the novelty, the experience, that we receive as a gift from a foreign culture.

Istvan Bona: I am in the fortunate situation that, in Volume I of the 10 volume "History of Hungary," I wrote this same part about Hungary and I must say that it was incomparably more difficult to write the "History of Transylvania." This period was simply missing for us. It was even more difficult for me, and it presented an even greater novelty, to attempt to sketch the period of the Hungarian conquest and founding of the state from the standpoint of the archeological sources, and this revealed some surprising things. Mainly from the standpoint of settlement history. Our historical research reckoned with numerous regions in Transylvania which it considered uninhabited because the documentary source material, noted also by László Makkai, did not really mention these areas before the 13th century. It has become clear now that, already in the 10th century, we can count on Hungarian-type settlements all the way to the Székely land, although they are not overly significant. However, in the 11th and 12th century, they are considerably larger and more prosperous than we thought and surmised.

László Makkai: Let me reveal one more behind the scenes secret. In view of the fact that the 10th and 11th centuries are so dark with respect to sources, we have to confess that one disagreement involving the 10th century that arose precisely between Professor Bona and me was actually left in the book. We Hungarian historians do not deny that certain differences of opinion exist also among us; we state these and leave it to the future when new sources or new insights may eventually dispose of some more of this 10th century darkness. At any rate, we know much more about the 10th century now than we did even 20 years ago.

Bela Kopecezi: Incidentally, as long as we speak of differences of opinion, this comprehensive history of the period of the Transylvanian principality is by itself new. But there are certain differences as to the manner in which we evaluate, for instance, the possibilities of economic development, or the place of the individual ethnic groups, the social movements. To mention only one example: Prince Apafi is not remembered well in Hungarian history writing largely because he was not particularly praised even by contemporary memoir writers. Well, one of the interesting topics of debate turned out to be whether Transylvania was developing or not during the reign of this prince, that is, from the 1660's to the 1690's. Economically but naturally also in terms of its social structure, culture, etc. This development was judged very optimistically by the author of the section; however, the justification for this optimism was questioned by the authors of the preceding and subsequent



periods. Of course, the standpoint of the author finally prevailed in the "History of Transylvania" and, if we shall be accused of having rehabilitated Mihaly Apafi I, this will not be due simply to enthusiasm but to the new sources collected by the author, for instance, with respect to economic development.

Zoltan Szasz: With respect to the 18th and 19th centuries, I should say that, above all, we were able to provide a new picture of the great ethnic transformation which took place in the mid-18th century, at the time when Rumanians became the unequivocal majority in the principality of Transylvania and this will then become one of the determinant factors in later development. Regarding the dualistic period, I should merely point out that, above all, we showed the mutually opposing trends of political and economic-social development. That, on the one hand, there exist national suppression and attempts at Magyarization, on the other hand, there is economic and social development which promotes the "maturation" and strengthening not only of the Hungarians but also of the Rumanians and Saxons as a result of which, by 1918, they stood in the storms of history not as some defenseless ethnic groups but with a developed citizenry, national land ownership and a network of national cultural and economic organizations. Finally, I consider as very important the supplemental material to the volumes, that is, the mass of pictures, maps and tables. This material is not simply illustration accompanying the text but is actually a second front: it stresses certain aspects on which we could not in some instances elaborate sufficiently in the text, for whatever reason.

Andras Gero: In my questions so far, I turned to you more as historians. In conclusion, I want to ask questions of you as Hungarian intellectuals. It is said that books have their own fate. This book cannot yet have a fate, it is too young for that; however, it is certain that it was not published in a vacuum but in an existing Hungarian and international medium. As Hungarian intellectuals, what are your expectations from this book?

Bela Kopecki: First of all, I must say that the publication of this book was met with great interest not only on the part of the Hungarian public. The first edition, 40 thousand copies, is already sold out. This is extraordinary for a scholarly work. This expectation was obviously not directed merely at the scholarly work in general but at a scholarly work which is associated with problems currently in debate. I would formulate it in terms of what the fate is of national minorities, in a given case of the Hungarian nationals, in the neighboring countries, and especially in Rumania. People have personal experiences, they have relatives and friends living in the neighboring countries, a particularly large number of them in Transylvania, and many are filled with concern about the political changes affecting the national minorities there. We ourselves--I believe I can also speak for my colleagues--are interested in that the Hungarians in Transylvania be able to exist, have rights, exercise these rights, retain and develop their language and culture. The historian does not merely formulate principles in general but, in a given case, will also take a stand in favor of them on the basis of belonging to a given ethnic group; scholarly objectivity and human-national solidarity are not mutually exclusive. What response can be expected? I think that, to the Hungarian public, the volumes will prove--and this is a very important matter--that different ethnic groups have been and are living in the area of



Transylvania. That there is a Rumanian majority in Transylvania (which the Hungarian public often is unaware of) and that the Rumanian majority has been there for a long time. That the question of borders cannot even arise precisely because of the ethnic majority and the ratios. The true, realistic problem is whether the three national groups can live together not only peacefully but also productively and creatively. If the Hungarian reading public obtains a more realistic and more objective picture of the past and present of Transylvania then I believe that we did achieve much in the interest of countering the survival of old, nationalistic stereotypes and in furnishing authentic information, through the example of Transylvania, about Central-East-Europe as a whole, and about its developmental characteristics and possibilities alike. This, in my view, is the truly great significance of the book in the formation of everyday awareness.

2473

CSO: 2500/363

## LACK OF ORGANIZATION PLAGUES 'HUNGARORING' RACE TRACK

Budapest HETI VILAGGAZDASAG in Hungarian 23 May 87 p 9

[Article by Zoltan Asztalos: "Strange Happenings at the Hungaroring"]

[Text] Last weekend the winners of the Hungarocamion Grand Prix were greeted with Hungarian champagne. The first bottle did not open, then the second one failed, and finally the third one also refused to pop. The first reaction of the fans and journalists present was to laugh, but their laughter soon turned into jeers.

But this was not the only embarrassing moment at last week's European Cup semi-truck race in Mogyorod. Although the race had gotten a very good build-up in the press, comparable only to the coverage given to last year's run of the Formula-1, and although there were some 120,000 viewers on hand to watch the race, not to mention the millions who followed the events on TV, this only meant more witnesses for the awkward incidents that occurred. This time the organizer of the event was not the Formula-1 Gt. [Formula-1 Business Association], but one of its associate members, Hungarocamion, which had offered to manage it alone. (Perhaps they had underestimated what it would cost to effectively organize such an event. Or perhaps they just wanted to prove that they, too, were capable of organizing a race.) Whatever the reason, the fact is that on Saturday the race started 1 and 1/2 hours late. As a result, the previously advertised peripheral events were dropped from the program, but even so the organizers were unable to make up for the lost time until the afternoon qualifying heats of the European championship.

There were strange things happening on Sunday as well. The trucks of the Paris-Dakar rallye, for example, were called into the ring while the child drivers were still making their rounds. Seeing the danger, some of the more fainthearted viewers sitting near the finish line did not even dare to look. For some odd reason the results of one of the championship runs had been

announced before the judges even had a chance to look at the photo-finish; so when the photo was finally released, the wreath awarded to the driver mistakenly declared third, had to be returned.

Nor were the organizers prepared to handle the huge crowd of over 100,000 people. There were no special BKV (Budapest Transportation Enterprise) buses, no proper traffic controls. The roads leading to the racecourse had not been turned into one-way thoroughfares, and there was nobody on hand to control parking. On Sunday, upon seeing the enormous traffic jam with cars backed up all the way to Hungaria Boulevard, even many ticket holders decided to turn back. Despite ticket prices of 160 forints per day, they still had not built a single step, a single asphalt-covered sidewalk into the hillside, forcing the audience to stand in a sea of mud. There was even water on some parts of the asphalt-covered race track, despite repeated claims by the builders that the drainage problem had been solved.

The Polish Jeletz motor works had brought a brand new fire engine to the Hungaroring which, for advertisement purposes, it made available to be used by the fire fighters on the scene. Our domestic manufacturers still have not thought of giving the organizers 2 or 3 shined-up, experimental models to be used for rescue and transport purposes. What we saw instead were Zils and Ifas running all over our Hungarian racecourse. Ikarus also did not seem to think that it would be worth it to provide transportation for the judges and technicians in its newest city buses.

Because of the poor quality of the photocopies the press materials distributed to the journalists were for the most part unreadable, and there were too many delays in releasing the lists of results. The pretty ladies assigned to assist the press knew neither their job, nor any of the languages spoken there. The crowd in the press stand was so great that one could not even move; yet everyone there seemed to be wearing a press tag or a participant's identity card around his neck.

9379

CS0: 2500/445

## WESTERN ACADEMIC'S BOOK ON POLISH HISTORY DISCUSSED

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 15 Apr 87 p 3

[Interview with Prof Adam Bronke, Canadian political scientist and historian, by Zbigniew Ramotowski: "The Polish Prescription for Survival"; the first two paragraphs are a ZYCIE WARSZAWY introduction]

[Text] What is history? What can history be? What should history be? Is it only a key to understanding the present or also a prescription for those who are creating the present day? We esteem it as the "teacher of life," but do we seek in it not so much illumination as support? What role does history play in the national consciousness of Poles and how is it viewed from outside, from abroad?

Although his origins and professional interests bind him thoroughly to the lands along the Vistula, a conversation with this person from outside provides us with an opportunity to reflect on these questions. Our guest, Adam Bronke, who is 58 years old, is a professor of political science at McMaster University in Hamilton (Canada), a lover of history (which he also teaches), a well-known journalist in both Canada and the U.S., and the author of a number of books. He has published, among others, "Polish Politics: Idealism versus Realism" (1967) and "Eastern Europe in the Aftermath of Solidarity" (1985). Next month his "The Significance and Use of Polish History" will be published by the Columbia University Press in the U.S.

[Question] What caused you to write this work and what did you want to say in it?

[Answer] It is a product of my personal adventure with Polish history. The result of my experiences--I have dedicated the book to the memory of my friends who died in the Warsaw Uprising--and of the many years spent studying Polish history, especially its recent history. It is also a polemic.

Twenty years ago my "Polish Politics: Idealism versus Realism" stirred up much controversy. I decided once again from today's perspective to examine the model of political thinking which I constructed at that time and to reconsider both my and my adversaries logic. The past two decades, rich in events, have inclined me to think that the model has proven itself, although I admit I have made improvements.

[Question] In particular what did you write about?

[Answer] The main, first part is an historiographical essay and in a sense also an essay on the philosophy of history. The second part consists of 15 selected examples of Polish political thought in the 20th century. I selected and translated publications of authors known to the readers of *ZYCIE WARSZAWY*, ranging from older ones like Roman Dmowski to contemporaries like Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński or Jan Szcepański. In the essay I ask myself: Why are Poles so attached to history?

[Question] This question is asked fairly frequently.

[Answer] It seems to me that this is caused mostly, though not exclusively, by the period of the partitions when there was no state to allow the development of a normal style of political thought. In view of this history, the constant reference to defeats and successes, became a kind of substitute for political thought; I would call it a political ideology. Used to formulate political programs and frequently abused, at times it became a myth.

[Question] This also shows the importance of history for whole generations of Poles, its role in shaping national consciousness.

[Answer] This is true. It is the influence of history and ideology and religion on the national consciousness that forms the thread running throughout the second part of the book of which we are speaking. How would you characterize the major schools of Polish historical thought? What are their mistakes and weaknesses, in your opinion? Their strengths?

[Answer] One of the major schools that has played an important role in Polish historiography and which, in my opinion, took most account of the ideological premises was the romantic school, which was particularly strong in the so-called Warsaw school between the world wars. It believed that since the partitions the Poles had fought for independence, to be sure they usually lost, but in the end they won. The constant struggle, as the representatives of the Warsaw school showed, is the prescription for Poles' attitudes in the face of political adversity. This view was very congenial to the then ruling Pilsudski movement: it found legitimation for its assumption of authorities in 1926 in this view, among other things.

The radical Polish left and historians of this persuasion, in turn, regarded class struggle and not the effort for independence as the most important. Like the Warsaw school they thought that history had in effect stopped at some point. For the romantic historians this moment was the regaining of independence in 1918; for the left, the postulated and anticipated victory of the proletarian revolution which was to once and for all solve the major social problems.

As history has shown, the thesis of a stop has not proved true in either of these schools. The independence of 1918 proved transitory; 1939 again brought mortal threats, and the postwar sociopolitical developments did not halt in 1945. Some problems, even shocks, appeared under the new legal order, just to mention 1956, 1970, and 1980-81. Thus the question: Where was the kernel of



Polish history? Why were Poles able to survive? Probably the dominant factor was a synthesis of idealism and realism, which appeared in both schools.

[Question] Is this evaluation typical in the West?

[Answer] Rather atypical. Many western historians have not noticed many errors in the interpretation of Polish history. This results at times from an insufficient knowledge of the sources and also from a too uncritical acceptance of negative features of Polish historiography, for example of the Warsaw school. Romantic stereotypes of Polish history as a mere chain of outbursts, uprisings, measuring one's strengths according to the goals, a lack of realism drawn from the romantic tradition are alive even today. I must add that some western specialists, although under the influence of what Poles have written, have maintained the needed distance and written a number of accurate, valuable works. For example, Stanislaus Blejwas's book of Warsaw positivism, Alvin Fountain's on the beginning of the national democratic movement, or Kamil Dziewanowski's history of the Marxist movement, in my opinion, deserve respect and attention.

[Question] Are arguments about the proportions of the idealistic, romantic on the one and the realistic, positivistic element on the other in the Polish vision of history not a purely academic, theoretical debate today?

[Answer] No this is not academic hair splitting. I will return to an earlier question. Why have Poles survived and that in spite of some much external adversity or domestic difficulties? It is the positivist thread that does not fit into the romantic vision that has helped maintain continuity and permanence. Uprisings and outbursts of national liberation were important for supporting Poles' national consciousness, but struggle itself does not produce survival. Positivism, effort at the roots, was essential.

[Question] History the teacher of life?

[Answer] Yes. But if it is to be a genuine "magistra vitae" we must concern ourselves with a systematization of history, with finding its laws. The past is a laboratory from which we can learn. If history is to perform a useful function, then scholars must search it for generalizations, but also constantly verify them. Search for analogies, but remember that history does not ever repeat itself exactly; each situation contains new elements. A free selection of examples, dictated by short-term goals and emotions is a mistaken tactic and socially damaging.

[Question] Do you have a particular situation in mind?

[Answer] I could give many examples of the abuse and distortion of history. I was surprised by, among other things, the peculiar Pilsudski cult that appeared at the turn of the decade between the 1970's and 1980's, based on a uncritical and selective treatment of his biography.

[Question] Professor, how do you see today's Poland in the light of your historical and political model?

[Answer] In following the development of the situation in Poland in recent years, I attempted to understand it in discontinuous categories, by opposing the romantic and positivist or idealistic and realistic views. In my opinion in the late 1970's there was an undoubted change in the direction of an excessive idealism. The crisis of 1980-81, at least as I explain it in my works, was to a large degree the result of this change, caused to some extent by a change in generations: each generation reads history in its own way.

Looking at what is happening today from the point of view of 1981, one can see, I believe, a return to a moderate realism, although in some groups idealistic attitudes still dominate. It seems to me, however, that they are in retreat, that Poles are searching for a synthesis between a moderate realism and a moderate idealism.

[Question] Who are we, we Poles, in your opinion? Does our collective political wisdom appear only during moments of danger only to disappear with the return of normal conditions?

[Answer] Undoubtedly there is such a pattern in Poles, especially in each young generation. Particular schools of history and many creative individuals, (who at times substituted for the historians) have shaped the national consciousness and have contributed to this, as I have said. History, frequently stormy, itself has contributed also. One should, however, not underestimate Poles' realism. At each stage in history, when the romantic slogans were abused, there was a strong social reaction, which opposed it. A typical example was the dominance of positivism after 1863. I think that what we see now is a return to this tradition.

Not everyone can cite the programs of Aleksander Swietochowski, Roman Dmowski, or Stanislaw Staszic; however, in the consciousness or the subconsciousness of the average Pole, down deep there is, I believe, a heritage from great thinkers: the need to maintain the historical substance of the people, and exposing it to constant blows. Poles are humanists, for it is hard to be a realist; it makes a better impression. That does, however, not in itself rule out realism is more important.

[Interviewer] Thank you for your answers.

13021

CSO: 2600/640

## LETTER CRITICIZES NEW HISTORY OF POZNAN 1956 EVENTS

Kurjer POLITYKA in Polish No 19, 9 May 87 p 5

(Letter to the editor from Andrzej Choniatkowski: "On the Poznan Events 1956")

[Text] The National Publishing Agency recently published Jan Ptasinski's "The Poznan Events June 1956." The author wrote that no previous work on the Poznan events was not based on militia and security service documents. This is not true. My article "The Course of the June Events in Poznan" in the collective volume edited by Edmund Makowski "The June Events in Poznan 1956. Materials from the scholarly conference organized by the Institute of History of the Adam Mickiewicz University on 4 May 1981," Poznan 1981 was written on the basis of materials in the archives of the PZPR Central Committee, the Polish Office for Internal Affairs in Poznan, and the archives of the PZPR Voluntary Committee in Poznan.

All the materials and not just the report of the Committee for Internal Affairs of 14 August 1956, which J. Ptasinski also uses as a canvas and as an uncritical point of reference for the entire book. This is a truly strange method for writing books that pretend to reflect "faithfully the fact and events."

In some fairly essential details the determinations of this report--otherwise a document of first-class significance--cannot withstand a critical confrontation with other materials. I encourage J. Ptasinski, who is so concerned for historical truth, to acquaint himself with them and to share reflections at an opportune moment. I particularly draw attention to a document containing the exact minute-by-minute chronology of the arrival of the wounded at Poznan hospitals on 28 June. Perhaps then readers of works on the June events in Poznan will not discover such significant differences of fact between particular studies.

19871

CDU: 2600/639

## COMMENTARY ON HISTORY, ATTRIBUTES OF 'COLLECTIVISM'

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 May 87 p 4

[Article by Włodzisław Milanowski: "Collectivism"]

[Text] The Socialist System of Value

We utilize many concepts in discussing the basic problems of social life. At the same time, we want the words we use to be clear, so that they will be meaningful. This also applies to the value-word "collectivism."

What is it? Why does it run into such stiff opposition in various ideological orientations? Why is it so difficult for the program of the transformation of interpersonal relations and the transformation of human working conditions that this value-word contains to be realized in our country? Why is it that many phenomena, which objectively are collectivist in nature, are forcibly opposed to collectivism? For example, under the slogan of the struggle against "Godless collectivism," a program has been carried out in our country for the creation of Christian collectives: within the framework of youth "oases," or through the creation of the so-called parish communities. Never mind that the basis here is different, and that a communist can hardly agree with their goals--if it is possible for the Catholic Church to undertake such a program in Poland, it is above all because socialism creates the conditions for the development of collectivism. Then why don't we really want to talk about collectivism--recently under slogans claiming that individualism is better, and that collectivism is an obstacle to achieving a high level of labor productivity and quality of life?

One can cite various practical experiences, and warmly describe new forms for expanding collectivism (self-management, worker partnerships, group contracts, etc.). Although these issues are discussed fairly often in our press, it is usually without revealing their links with the process of collectivization. Why?

What, then, can we say about collectivism? The opponents of socialism use this word as the most terrible epithet (on the same level as totalitarianism). The average man in the street recalls "collectivization," and the more

attentive reader of the international column in the press, the law on worker collectives in the USSR. A little word lies behind all of this: "collectivism."

From the Marxist point of view, collectivism has its prerequisites in the objective processes of social development (which we will mention a little later on), but at the same time, it is a value. As a value, it forms part of the Communist credo, according to which the future of humanity will be marked by the comprehensive development of the individual--a conscious participant in a self-managing community of free producers. In other words, Marxism anticipates that the very stimulation of collective attitudes and processes will lead to the manifestation of the most valued traits of man--a tendency toward cooperation, solidarity, an attitude of equality, radicalism, and criticism. It is thus assumed that an individual existing only for himself, isolated, and uninterested in community affairs, cannot manifest the full richness of his values, capabilities, and aspects of his spiritual world. On the other hand, it is felt that the world of people does not consist solely of autonomous individuals, and that their one-sidedness can only be surmounted by choosing the road of enhancing collectivism.

The Marxist theory of social development states that collectivism is the result of the historical development of society, and above all, of the development of modern (industrial) forms of material practice, which lead to an increasingly more profound socialization of the process of labor. Let us add that socialization means an intensification of the situation in which the work of any person requires the cooperation (directly or indirectly, consciously or not) of an increasingly larger body of other people. An individual person may desire a great deal, but the realization of these desires depends to an increasingly greater degree on others.

Let us also emphasize that the process of socialization is objective in nature. Thus, on a society-wide scale, socialization means the universal mutual interdependence of the producers. Meanwhile, it turns out from this that collectivism is the means of the manifestation of the process of socialization in people's awareness, attitudes, aspirations, and actions.

Do we have collectives flourishing in view of this? Unfortunately not. In social developmental processes there is after all a clash between two opposing tendencies: socialization and parochialization, and the two principles corresponding to these tendencies, collectivism and individualism.

The principle of collectivism (conscious positive cooperation) reflects the high level and conscious nature of the association of people, and their subordination of their actions and aspirations to the harmonious union of individual interests with group and collective (society-wide) interests.

The principle of individualism reflects the tendency to parochialize social life, the desire for the individual's seizure of the means of production, turnover, and consumption. The operation of the principle of individualism is expressed in the domination of the collective interest by parochial or individual interests, and in the desire (sometimes assuming the form of egoism) to have society formed in such a way that the interests of the



individuals possessing the means of production, turnover, or consumption will always be served and protected first of all.

Collectivism (just like socialization) is a gradual tendency. The future will be characterized by this trait, in one way or another. Its full realization, however, is not possible all at once. Individualism (and parochialism) constantly recall vitality of the old structures and forms of management, and the old manifestations of this mentality. One cannot assert that individualism is some sort of "eternal trait of human nature." One cannot let oneself be deceived by such a "facile" interpretation of a complicated reality. One also cannot take individual manifestations of parochialism and individualistic aspirations lightly, however. They also express objective features of the social process of material and ideological practice. They are what indicates the contradictions occurring in the processes of the continuous modernization of production forces and in the functioning of the institutions of the ideological and political superstructure.

The means of overcoming the "disease" of parochialism is collectivism. Like every remedy, it has to be applied in moderation and regularly. An overdose weakens the organism and turns the medicine into a poison. An insufficient dose, on the other hand, threatens complications in the sphere of social motivations, in the functioning of social self-management, etc.

In a socialist society, collectivism should be the most general norm of interpersonal relations, the principle of communist morality, and a fundamental feature of the socialist lifestyle. The following standards are derived from the principle of collectivism: mutual assistance of the members of the group, conscientious fulfillment of social obligations, a feeling of responsibility, the conscious coordination of personal interests with social ones, the equality of the members of the collective, respect for the group and its decisions, realization of responsibility to the collective for one's own actions, and conducting oneself like a comrade.

In defining the general principles and planning a definite direction of social development, we cannot give in to the associated delusion that they reflect today's situation. If that is how we understand the acceptance of the principle of collectivism, this means that there is still a long way to go before it is fully realized. It also means that we can treat the principle of collectivism as a norm determining social and political choices in the event of the occurrence of contradictions among different interests and different trends in development.

Collectivism has been the target of invective more than once. The ideological opponents of socialism say, for instance, that collectivism is opposed to the objective laws of management, since it obstructs individual interest and the involvement of an individual. They accuse the communists of wanting to use the realization of the principle of collectivism to bring about a sort of incapacitation of the individual, and deprive him of his proper worth. They also accuse Marxism of a desire to use the screen of collectivism to conceal totalitarian aspirations and to mask the rigid regimentation of the ideas, attitudes, and actions manifested in society.

It is obvious that such accusations are a falsification of the truth and have the nature of a vicious campaign, since in reality, collectivism is not just opposed to individualism. It is also opposed with equal force to the phenomena of group parochialism (for example, cliques), and to totalitarianism, since totalitarianism is characterized--generally speaking--by rigid centralization, depriving the individual of responsibility, and turning a person into someone who mindlessly and efficiently carries out orders coming from above. There is nothing in common between totalitarianism and the collectivism defined above. Collectivism is the development of the individual through an increasingly fuller awareness of his own dependence upon others and his own responsibility for others. Collectivism is the conscious (and thus voluntary) assimilation and realization of common (and community) values.

I have certainly not raised all of the issues associated with collectivism here. Individual parts of the analysis may suffer from abstraction. Without understanding the broadest sense of this concept, however, we will never be able to understand its essence fully. And the essence of the problem of collectivism is the possibility of the formation--deliberately--of new mechanisms of social life, of overcoming the bourgeois vision of man as only a "producer-consumer and consumer-producer." It is not easy, but as the old anecdote says, one must always try.

4409

CSO: 2600/665

## INEPT, CORRUPT PARTY CADRE BLAMED FOR REFORM DIFFICULTIES

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 19, 9 May 87 pp 1, 5

[Article by Zygmunt Rola: "Screens"]

[Text] The development of People's Poland today and tomorrow will depend to a large extent on how a multitude of over a million managers manage people and things, exercising the authority given to them. This was where Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski concluded an article on cadres (POLITYKA, No 14). The proverbial "1" in this matter remained undotted, however, since the development of People's Poland depends on how the army of party secretaries--starting with the primary organizations--understands and carries out cadre policy, and on how it manages people, exercising the authority given to it.

After all, it was Rakowski who estimated that 75 percent of the 1,200,000 managers in Poland were members of the PZPR, while recently everyone could read in an article by Stanislaw Kwiatkowski, the director of the Center for Public Opinion Research, which was published on the pages of POLITYKA, that those polled put the blame for the problems and difficulties of everyday life mainly on the government (53 percent), ministries and regional authorities (13 percent), and the PZPR (8 percent), and that the assertions of young people about their lack of prospects are based on the poor conduct of cadre policy, or more precisely, the principles of advancement, and that all of this is the basis for critical assessments of institutional distortions in the practice of exercising authority.

If I stated that the principles of cadre policy, which have been in effect for several years--since the 13th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee--and which are suddenly being described as new, did not have any effect upon practice in this area, I would be contradicting the facts, and certainly the generally very positive assessments that the voivodship committees resigning last fall gave themselves in reports submitted in writing.

Are things really that good, however? Are only the "right people" getting into the "right positions"--enlightened, dynamic, and innovative, regardless of their party membership? Are people who are sluggish and indulgent, who cannot free themselves from the constraints of conservative habits, being consistently removed from their positions? Unfortunately, Prof Andrzej Tymowski was quite right when he stated at the inaugural meeting of the

Consultative Council of the chairman of the Council of State that today the problem of cadre policy is the fundamental issue. Every now and then we hear that so many ministers, governors, or directors have been discharged, and that is considered good. The issue lies in something quite different, however. The essential thing is whether the criteria for appointing new people have been different than for those who have been removed. If the criteria are not changing--and that is how society perceives it--then it's a losing game.

The authors of letters sent to party echelons and to the editorial boards of party newspapers seem to be presenting opinions close to this. They write about the bureaucratization of working methods, and also about the implementation of the principles of cadre policy, and about the reluctance of people among the local party luminaries to take note of information that disturbs their peace and quiet and their need for success. Before the 4th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee, Renata Izdebska wrote to GAZETA POZNANSKA: "In the party organization where peace and quiet reign--'don't bother me, and I won't bother you'--we have to deal with mismanagement, negligence, losses, and the waste of people's energy, enthusiasm, and initiative. And the consequences can be deplorable when a POP [primary party organization] secretary, instead of leading the struggle against abuses, tries to defend those who commit them, and to hush up their shameful acts. The timidity of certain POP secretaries is due to the fact that the wisest people are not always elected to those posts. At some plants, the head of the enterprise still has a decisive influence over the election of a POP secretary. He suggests it, and conducts agitation among 'his people' over who ought to be the POP secretary--not someone wiser than him, but rather someone who would not stand up to him. Some bosses, knowing that the POP can withdraw its recommendation from him, 'bribe' the secretary with a bonus or an award, involve him in various schemes, and then keep him in check."

The author of another letter, Ludwig Zapora, wrote as follows about the consequences of such a situation: "I propose making an amendment to the PZPR statute. It's a sort of bitter joke. A person speaking up at a party meeting should be warned by the secretary: 'Everything that you say from now on can be used against you, since you may criticize the Central Committee, the Politburo, and the government, but you may not criticize your own superiors. It is simply dangerous.' I will say only that if it were not for the tacit consent of the secretaries of the party organizations, this would be absolutely impossible.

After all, it does not often happen the way it did at the Poznan Construction Materials Central Office. The executive board of the PZPR POP there succeeded in opposing the dishonesty of the enterprise's management. At its suggestion, an audit was conducted, which confirmed the accusations made at a meeting of the party organization, in the presence of the director, who is a member of it. Unfortunately, there are not too many political leaders at the lowest level like the first secretary of the POP there--something that people associate with stabilization, which, like the proverbial coin, has different faces in the party as well. If we were to transfer Rakowski's view of cadres to the realm of the party, we would have to say that there are too few

secretaries of party organizations who play the role of actual, unquestioned leaders in their milieux. This is also the case in the struggle against political and economic abuses.

Otherwise, during the years 1984-1986 it would not have been necessary to impose legal, administrative, and financial penalties against the party leaderships of several dozen production enterprises, several hundred commercial and service outlets, and institutions, at which auditors (not the enterprise's, obviously) detected striking irregularities, negligence, and shortcomings: for example, criminal disorder and waste at several "Peasant Self-Assistance" District Cooperatives, or the failure at several "Baranów" factories to carry out post-audit assignments. But after all, a party organization is active at each of these institutions, at least formally. In spite of this, there are frequent occurrences there of a drastic failure to take public opinion into account, the bypassing and violation of regulations, the derivation of inappropriate benefits by virtue of positions held, negligence in work, drunkenness, lawlessness, the loss of the ability to manage and administer, or even a return to former manners, the avoidance of inconvenience in life, and "fixing up one's own people." So that there may be no doubt, let me state that these are not my observations, those of a journalist, but rather the conclusions of the Voivodship Party Audit Commission, which were presented last fall to the Voivodship Reports-Electoral Conference of the PZPR in Poznan.

Isn't it because the new cadre policy has still not broken through the long-standing habits, stereotypes, and barriers in the party organizations themselves--but also higher, in the cities, communes, and districts, and at the voivodship level--that in Poznan during the past three years it has been necessary to expel from the PZPR, suspend membership rights, and punish in other ways, as well as firing from their positions, over 60 directors, presidents, chiefs, managers, first secretaries of party echelons, 180 [Citizens' Militia] officials, and prosecutors? Isn't it because not all party cadres are fulfilling the hopes placed in them that a number of major criminal cases have been noted there during those years, including a rather scandalous one involving thefts on a large scale at 21 liquor distilleries?

Unfortunately, it still happens that the party echelons either try to hush up the scandal, or are unaware of who the people really are. Here, briefly, is a story from Kornik. Party and official proceedings began last March against the director of the PGR [State Farms] Combine there, as a result of which the charges made against him, which had a so-called high specific gravity, were confirmed from the beginning. Even at the beginning of May 1986, however, when the prosecutor received the proposal that a formal inquiry be instituted, the Executive Board of the local echelon, of which he was a member, did not suspend the director's party obligations. A scandal broke out in the fall when the director again became a member of the Executive Board of the PZPR KMG, while several days later GAZETA POZNANSKA published an article "reminding" anyone who needed it about the PZPR statute and the basic principles of cadre policy.

It turns out, however, that violating labor law and the basic principles in effect in the PZPR may not be an obstacle to electing a "deserving" candidate



used to the voivodship echelon. The director of another Poznan PGR Combine--in Swietoszyn--an enterprise well known for his good production results, has earned out to be not only an autocrat, but also an incompetent member, who also diligently took advantage of party connections and arrangements. Several court proceedings lost against his own employees, and the contents of the petitions drawn up after audits conducted at the director's "farm" by the State Labor Inspectorate and representatives of the federation of unions of agricultural workers, for instance--these facts and documents, which ought to be well known to the Voivodship Office and to the PZPR Voivodship Committee, not only did not cause what one would think would be the natural official decisions to be undertaken against him, but also did not block him from obtaining a term at the regular reports-electoral conference...

One can no longer be very surprised at such events. Has a hair even fallen from the head of any secretary of a party organization when the Treasury Chamber questioned the calculations of so many production plants? During this February alone, as a result of an audit of 190 prices, it was determined that there were over 140 cases of irregularities, including ordinary racketeering. Even though the so-called sum improperly exceeded 32 million zlotys, I have not noted that any party organization has suffered any personal consequences from this facts at all. But after all, the January 1982 directive from the Secretariat of the PZPR Central Committee on the subject of plant teams for the issues of production costs and prices is still in effect, as is Council of Ministers Resolution 201 from December 1981. The PZPR Statute is likewise a valid document.

The situation in the local elements of PZPN (Patriotic Movement for National Revival) further illustrates the fact, known from elsewhere, that "what is new makes its way through with difficulty." PZPR members are in a definite majority both among the members of district and municipal councils, and in leadership jobs. In Poznan, during the preceding period--the first term, after all--the number of non-party members in the primary elements declined from 35 percent to 20 percent of these councils, while there was an increase in the number of members of political parties, primarily the PZPR. This is obviously good evidence of the activity of party members on behalf of the Revivalist Movement, but at the same time, it means, after all, that considerable groups, milieux, and social circles are remaining uninvolved. In most PZPN district councils, non-party members seem to be a sort of screen. On average they constitute a barely 9 percent group, 11 percent in Nekla, and only 13 percent in Lodz.

If ideology, politics, and economics cannot be separated from each other in daily life, and if cadres really do the everything, then the failures of the economic reform so far are understandable. Were party cadres, in a situation in which the party itself is the author of the economic reform, can likewise be an outstanding job of hindering the initiation of its second stage. Are all the secretaries of party organization, who--at least in theory--ought to be genuine leaders of the political vanguard in their institutions and production plants, managing to contribute to ensuring the full effectiveness of economic reform? Are they managing to stimulate fundamental transformations and modifications in organizational structures? Will those who are weak themselves want to improve the quality of management cadres in

their enterprises, so that they would operate effectively, in accordance with the new requirements? Finally, are weak secretaries of party organizations managing to mobilize their organizations and their entire plants to enhance labor discipline and economical management? To encourage enterprise, innovation, and scientific and technical progress? Are such secretaries able to contribute to releasing social initiative?

Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski does not give any answer at all to what are perhaps the most important questions that he raised himself in his article on cadres; he also does not talk about the state of this involvement and feeling of responsibility for the country, for its present and future. But that is really what it is like: weak party cadres are perhaps the greatest obstacle to achieving political renewal and economic reform.

9909

CSO: 2600/665

## WORKERS DISCUSS PARTY AUTHORITY IN FACTORIES

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12 May 67 p 3

[Article by Zbigniew Maciag: "Before the Fourth Plenum: Let's Stop Working 'Once in a Blue Moon'"]

[Text] The exchange of views and opinions prior to the Fourth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee is continuing, and at the Hipolit Cegielski Metal Industry Works in Poznan as well. Party meetings have taken place here in all of the primary organizations, and they have been interesting and lively. The discussion organized by the KZ [plant committee]--to which a TRYBUNA LUDU journalist was invited--also abounded in many interesting proposals and demands.

The participants in it were Marian Idziak, a party group leader, Andrzej Kosmicki, the first secretary of the POP [primary party organization] of the Motor Engine Factory, Boleslaw Knopczyk, the first secretary of the POP of the Tools Factory, Andrzej Kasprzyk, the first secretary of the POP of the Equipment and Traction Engine Factory, and Wlodzimierz Blingiewicz, the first secretary of the POP of the Machine Tool Factory. Here is an abridged transcript of it.

M. Idziak: The rank-and-file members of the party care a great deal about increasing the party's prestige in the division and in the enterprise. The lack of it often prevents effective and efficient action. At our enterprise, the party has a powerful position. I regret, however, that I have not been able to activate the party group as much as I would have liked to, since several comrades are still standing aside and waiting for "better times." I think that party members should be required to display more discipline and involvement in social action. They should be the initiators of reforms and progress, and the work force should follow in their footsteps.

B. Knopczyk: If the group of genuine activists is a large one, the party can only gain by this; its initiatives are visible and perceived by the work force. Non-party members assess the party organization very acutely. They seriously monitor its work in the division and in the factory, and they perceive even the slightest lapses. If the POP does not react to waste and extravagance, then it automatically encounters harsh criticism, and loses a great deal in the eyes of the work force.

A.Kozmicki: The role and significance of the POP at many enterprises will not grow suddenly, today or tomorrow. A bit of time is needed for that. Every party member must be aware that the prestige of the primary organization depends precisely upon his attitude, conduct, discipline, and activity. How can this activity be elicited, and through what methods? Through joint discussions, with the participation of non-party members, the establishment of party groups within trade unions, self-management bodies and other social organizations, and the assignment of individual tasks. It is only in this manner that we will increase the militancy of party members and mobilize them for creative action.

W.Blingiewicz: We try to assign party tasks to everyone. They can consist of preparing a meeting, for instance. They can be aimed at one party member, or an entire group. We frequently remind the party members of what they have to do and by when. After all, there are different people. Some are conscientious and diligent, while others are absent-minded and unsystematic. It can happen that someone is reprimanded for being lazy about carrying out the tasks that he has been entrusted with.

M.Idziak: In my group I have several foremen. All of them have received party tasks. They look after young workers who are just beginning to work. They give them advice and assistance. They do everything they can to make them feel comfortable under the new conditions and to go through the process of vocational adjustment quickly. Some of them are joining the party, but not many.

W.Blingiewicz: That is true; there are fewer and fewer young people in the enterprise. They are not interested in working at the plant because the wages are low and unattractive. The youth organization is growing old. This fact undoubtedly has an influence on the growth of party ranks. In the future, we should give more attention to establishing contacts--even during study at school--between the young person and the enterprise. New solutions in this area are needed.

A.Kasprzyk: Recently the meetings have been very turbulent. I am bothered, however, by the fact that most of those who speak up are expressing the view that many of our problems have to be solved by someone else, someone up above. Let us tell ourselves frankly that we cannot do everything ourselves, but there are matters that no one will settle for us, that we have to solve in our own back yard. And there is one more thing. Let us stop working from action to action, once in a blue moon. Let us end the campaign mentality. After all, this is one of the weaknesses of our work. Why can't we mobilize ourselves all the time? Why is it that many POPs only come to life in the face of major political events?

[Question] In the discussion that is going on now prior to the Fourth Plenum, it has been proposed occasionally that the position of the secretary and the POP in the division or enterprise should be legally sanctioned.

B.Knopczyk: I think that we cannot build up the party's prestige through administrative measures. What if we do list the rights and duties of the secretary? We will by no means revive the activity of the party organization

in that manner. Let us strengthen the position of the party through our work, not bureaucratic instructions.

[Question] Are the POP's participating in implementing the principles of cadre policy that were formulated at the 13th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee?

B.Knopszyk: The conduct of a correct cadre policy is one of the basic tasks of the party organizations, since a great deal depends on the cadres. All of those occupying management positions must show appropriate predispositions. The POPs consult with the staff and the work force on the candidacies of future foremen and managers, and formulate conclusions and proposals.

A.Kasprzyk: It can happen that we propose a capable young engineer, who has a good reputation and is a splendid professional, for a management position, but he does not accept it. Why? Because he will lose financially by it. And what does the party do in that case? Unfortunately, not much, since those are the regulations. This state of affairs has to be changed.

W.Blingiewicz: We are trying to make full use of our authority in cadre policy. We encounter various obstacles, however, mostly related to pay. The low wages in management positions are preventing a proper selection of candidates.

[Question] Is the administration concerned about having a strong and energetic POP in the division or factory? Why do so few workers speak at meetings?

A.Kosmicki: Everything depends on the manager. There are some who would like the party to be weak and invisible, since then they would have fewer problems and less work. No one assesses them or holds them to account. In short, they have peace and quiet. And such people really are interested in weakening the POP and hindering its activity. Most of the management cadre, however, is creating a proper climate and atmosphere for party work, and supporting the secretaries in resolving difficult issues. They know that a strong primary organization guarantees fulfilling production tasks and having more discipline and productivity.

B.Knopszyk: One cannot hide the fact that workers are often afraid to express criticism at meetings. Why? Could they be afraid of the consequences? There is a great deal of truth in this. This psychological barrier still remains today. It is therefore the obligation of the secretaries to remind directors and managers that at a party meeting they are only members and have the same rights as the workers. They cannot use their positions--either at the meetings or outside them--to harass those who criticize their work.

9909

C30: 2609/665



## OPZZ EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE ON LABOR SAFETY

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 May 67 p 2

[Article by (Teg): "First Man--Then Production"]

[Text] The 190,000 work accidents, of which over a thousand were fatal and 4,000 caused serious injuries, are the most convincing proof that the sphere of labor protection and safety cannot be considered a second or third-rate one at plants, and that it must be treated differently in the central policy of the state. A meeting on Wednesday of the OPZZ [National Agreement of Trade Unions] Executive Committee, which was chaired by Alfred Miodowicz, was devoted primarily to this subject.

The point of departure for the discussion was a report by the State Labor Inspectorate, from which it appears that in spite of considerable efforts to improve occupational health and safety and respect for the labor law, negative phenomena are still accumulating. It is little comfort that there was a decline in the number of fatal accidents during the first quarter of this year, since at the same time there was an increase in the number of medical dismissals caused by other accidents in the workplace, and since 1,460,000 people are still working in conditions that are more than harmful, and the situation is truly critical at 400 plants.

These data are barely a contribution to the reports on the status of occupational health and safety that have been submitted by state and social labor inspectors, and this is a serious accusation, the trade union officials stated. In the discussion, they pointed out various sources and reasons, including small investment and modernization outlays in this field, the neglect by machinery and equipment designers of safety requirements, but also the lack of economic incentives and the jungle of legal regulations, or the lack of familiarity with them on the part of higher management and directors.

What remedial measures were envisioned? There were countless suggestions; for example, there was a call for the socialization of labor protection, making more than the work forces aware of the significance of occupational health and safety, and making it the number one issue for all union organizations, since although codification of the law in this field is essential, the truth is that union officials and social inspectors can do a great deal for health and safety. After all, there are still enterprises at which there is still no

Social Labor Inspectorate! There are attempts to adapt the legal regulations to fatal working conditions, and one must definitely put a stop to this.

"On occupational health and safety issues, it's like 'reciting prayers'-- things essentially don't change much from one analysis or assessment to the next," it was said during the discussion. There is too much formalism and too little genuine concern. This also seems to be a marginal topic in the Theses for the second stage of the reform. Aren't we threatened with the dehumanization of work as a result?

The health of society is also linked to the disturbing sanitary situation in the country, and the union officials also devoted considerable attention to this problem.

9909

CSO: 2609/665

## SELF-MANAGEMENT COMMISSION STUDIES TWO DEPARTMENTS

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 10 Apr 67, 8

[Unattributed article: "Two Examples of Positive Cooperation"]

[Text] What does cooperation between the founding bodies and the self-managements look like? A partial answer to that question was given on 9 April during the meeting of the Sejm Commission on Self-Management Affairs, Stanislaw Kania presiding.

Conditions in two ministries were analyzed: construction and the chemical and light industries. In both the self-managements function in the large majority of enterprises, blank spots, or enterprises in which there is as yet no self-managements, can be counted on the fingers of one hand. The activeness of the particular workers' councils varies: a significant part of them displays initiative and a desire to act for the good of the enterprise, but many limit themselves to their statutory duties, without engaging themselves in the overall affairs of the enterprise.

In response to the deputies' numerous questions, Eugeniusz Trajer, undersecretary of state in the Construction Ministry, drew attention to the fact that in this ministry the self-managements function in unusual conditions. Each enterprise is performing work usually at a dozen or so or even several dozen building sites, which does not contribute to integrated operations. Nevertheless, the leadership of the ministry attempts at least once a year to meet with the self-managements to discuss the most important issues.

In turn, the Ministry of the Chemical and Light Industries, as Miroslaw Jedrzejczak (undersecretary of state) stated, observed that during the elections a slightly smaller turnout; thus in some enterprises it was necessary to repeat the elections two or three times.

Stanislaw Kania summarized the discussion that followed and emphasized the participation of the leadership of both ministries in raising the prestige and significance of the self-managements. An orientation toward self-managements is a lasting orientation despite much discussion of the forms, methods of operation and range of jurisdiction of the workers' councils. Today we must

pay attention especially to how best to encourage the self-managements in greater activity, especially in economic affairs.

During the second portion of the meeting, Andrzej Paczos deputy minister for labor, wages, and social services, presented information on the implementation of the recommendations and on the criticisms voiced during the Sixth All-Polish Conference of Representatives of the Employees' Self-Managements. There was also a discussion of the program for the next, seventh conference on the role of the self-managements in accelerating technical advancement, improving production quality, and developing exports.

During the meeting, Deputies Czeslaw Burcon (PZPR), Alfred Wawrzyniak (unaffiliated, PAX), Byszard Czyz (PZPR), Stanislaw Derda (ZSL), Czeslaw Baran (ZSL) spoke. The chairmen of the workers councils of several of the largest industrial plants in Poland also participated in the meeting.

13071

EO: J640/639

## BRIEFS

CORRESPONDENT ON POLISH VALUES--Michael T. Kaufman, NEW YORK TIMES correspondent in Poland: "...George Bernard Shaw once said that there are three tragic peoples in the world: the Poles, the Jews, and the Irish, and there is something to this. For instance, in America there is a conviction that tragedy is something that can be counteracted like smoking or obesity. But every Pole feels in his soul that tragedy is not a quality of life but life itself. It is hard to live with this, but for an outsider it is a type of purgation to be in a place where people still speak of honor and disgrace, and in which a mother desires that her children not grow up to be rich, famous, or happy but to be a good people." (From an interview with Wieslaw Horabik KAMENA 19 April) [Text] [Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 19, 9 May 87 p 2] 13021

HISTORICAL SOCIAL DIVISIONS NOTED--Prof Dr Zbigniew Wierzbicki, sociologist and member of the Consultation Commission of the chairman of the Council of State: "even today the people in Wielkopolska give the impression of a prudent, West European society, the most integrated region in Poland. In any case this is an intriguing phenomenon. Personally I believe even that there are two peoples in Poland who have two different value systems--the western Polish one which includes Pomerania, Wielkopolska, and Silesia, and the other eastern and central Polish one. It is not hard to notice that the value systems of the people in these two regions are dissonant. Personally I believe that the transfer of the capital from Warsaw to Poznan is unavoidable. Today this will surely make many people laugh, but..." (From an interview with Piotr Grochmalski, WPROST 3 May) [Text] [Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 19, 9 May 87 p 2] 13021

COUNCIL MEMBERS BEHAVIOR DESCRIBED--Stanislaw Orzech, member of the Katowice Voivodship People's Council: "There are councilmen who participate actively in the sessions, listen, know what is at issue. Others read newspapers, leave every few minutes, and frequently do not return. Others are so absorbed that even during votes they do raise their hand. To support my statement I cite the following facts: during the last session of the People's Council of the total number of 200 councilmen, 162 signed the list. Then 149 of them participated in the voting. At 1 p.m. when the chairman of the Council checked the list, 120 members were still present. In view of this would it not be worth considering informing the organizations who nominated members who are



absent without a proper reason and their employers so that they do not pay them for the day." (RADA NARODOWA No 16) [Text] [Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 19, 9 May 87 p 2] 13021

INTEREST IN WORKERS DOUBTED--Ryszard Botwina, sociologist: "The workers [of Lublin] also say in making a general judgment of evaluations of the social sphere, that in our situation the state should be a common-people's one based on the principles of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth--55.2 percent. But only 40 percent of the workers would see our state as a dictatorship of the proletariat with a clear preference for the interests of the working class." (SPRAWY I LUDZIE No 17, 1987) [Text] [Warsaw PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY No 20, 17 May 1987 p 2] 13021

'PARKINSON'S LAW' IN CENTRALIZATION--Antoni Rajkiewicz, former minister of labor, wages, and social services: "I have become convinced how excessive centralization can become preoccupied with itself, be self-sufficient. After I left, four new departments were formed, Parkinson, his law, they multiply very quickly...Today every ministry requires transformation, their present structures are not congruent with the principles of the reform." (GAZETA POMORSKA No 89, 1987) [Text] [Warsaw PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY No 18, 3 May 1987 p 2] 13021

CSO: 2600/639

## BASIC DEVELOPMENTS OF LIGHT INDUSTRY IN 8TH 5-YEAR PLAN

Prague PLANOVA NE HOSPODARSTVI in Czech No-4, 1987 pp 20-30

[Article by Eng Milan Dravdil, State Planning Commission: "Main Objectives for Development of Light Industry in Eighth 5-Year Plan"]

[Text] Light industry occupies an important position in the economies of economically advanced, as well as in a number of Third World and newly industrialized, countries. It plays a significant role in meeting the needs of the general public for a wide range of nonmachinery type consumer goods. Its semifinished and finished products supply still other industrial sectors and play an essential role as well in international trade, by improving the balance of international trade through the production and sale for foreign currency of its products.

But this sector has not avoided certain of the crises that affected the world economy in the second half of the 1970's, when the prices of raw materials and energy rose relatively much faster than the prices of finished manufactured goods. This significantly worsened the exchange relationships of those industrial countries that import raw materials and energy, causing great difficulties for their commercial and payments balances.

Most advanced capitalist countries reacted to this negative development with extensive structural changes in their industrial sectors. These countries slowed down the growth rate of certain traditional industries such as metallurgy, along with selected light industrial sectors, while stimulating the development of other sectors that depended on the implementation of higher level innovations and a more highly trained work force (such sectors include electronics, robotics, biotechnology, new materials, speciality chemicals, etc.). The need for extensive structural changes was further emphasized by growing competition from Third World and newly industrializing countries, which have for some time been inundating world markets with inexpensive consumer goods, presenting dangerous competition for established producers who market their products at higher price levels. Because most light industrial sectors require relatively large labor forces the governments of advanced capitalist countries are attempting to keep such companies in business at whatever cost, including various protectionist economic policies (tariffs, import quotas, bans on exports, etc.), but also as a last resort through financial subsidies to facilitate modernization and reconstruction, including state of the art automated machinery, robots, etc.

With this in mind the European Economic Community (EEC) established a special commission that assures that state subsidies (up to 25 percent of total resources invested in a project) are directed mainly at sectors and product groups which have the best chance of breaking into sharply competitive world markets. This policy helped significantly in reviving selected light industrial sectors, but has had a negative impact on Czechoslovak light industrial exports in the 1981-1985 period, especially in the first half of this period.

A specific example is the evolution of exports of leather footwear from the CSSR to nonsocialist countries. Following relatively successful years in 1980 and 1981 a crisis in the recipient countries led to a significant reduction in exports (of about 3 million pairs) in 1982 to some traditional markets (Canada, the United States, Scandinavia, etc.). This unfavorable trend continued and improved slightly only in 1984-1985. Even so, exports to nonsocialist countries in 1985 were 1.6 million pairs of leather footwear lower in 1985 than in 1981. The same trend occurred for certain products of the textile, clothing, glass and ceramics industries, even though in these cases declines in exports were not so significant thanks to a trade agreement between the CSSR and the EEC, dating from the early 1980's, and covering exports of textile products.

#### Performance of Light Industry in Seventh 5-Year Plan

Czechoslovak light industry accounted for 11 percent of total centrally managed industrial output in 1985, and for 17 percent of the industrial output sold on the domestic market. It also accounted for 12 percent of the exports of the centrally managed economy to socialist countries, and for 16 percent of our exports to nonsocialist countries. Gross light industrial output in 1985 exceeded Kcs 77 billion in wholesale prices (in constant 1977 prices), an increase over 1980 of 11.3 percent. The largest annual increase in output, nonetheless, was 3 percent recorded between 1984 and 1985, with the smallest annual increase, 1.1 percent, being recorded in 1983. This, incidentally, was the year in which the marketing crisis of this sector culminated. A concise summary of Seventh 5-Year Plan performance must also include several serious problems with which light industry had to deal. These fell into four critical areas, namely the raw materials base, capital asset replacement, labor, and foreign trade with nonsocialist countries.

#### Raw Materials Base

Our light industry is among those sectors heavily dependent on imports. For instance, a full 54 percent of the fibers consumed by the Czechoslovak textile industry in 1985 were imported, at a total value of about Kcs 5 billion in all charges paid prices. Unprocessed cattle hides imported from hard currency areas accounted for 40 percent of our total consumption. These imports came exclusively from capitalist countries and could not be replaced with equivalent products from any other source.

While, to be sure, a significant portion of the raw materials for the glass and ceramics industries is domestic in origin, production growth in this sector is limited by imports of certain other products (such as boric acid)

as well as by the gradually declining quality of domestic deposits of glass sand and lamelin.

The textile industry has been a loser over the past quarter century in the significant chemicalization of its raw materials base. In certain sectors, the wool and knitting industries for instance, the level has reached 75 percent. While in 1965 artificial fibers accounted for only 29 percent of overall consumption of textile raw materials, by 1985 the figure had reached 54 percent (including polyolefin fibers from belts and falls). Despite this clear progress, the Czechoslovak textile industry still lags behind leading world producers, for whom the percentage of artificial fibers used has reached 65-80 percent. Moreover, domestic supplies of artificial fibers remain inadequate because they are dominated by standard types and do not include higher generation fibers (modified, specially processed, etc.) which could significantly improve the performance characteristics of finished textile products. Czechoslovak production facilities cannot even keep pace with demand for dyestuffs and auxiliary textile preparations, thereby further increasing import requirements from hard currency countries.

An equally vexing problem is obtaining basic raw materials and auxiliary products for our leatherworking industry. This applies most to the most critical raw material, namely raw cattle hides, more than 40 percent of which need to be imported. Domestic suppliers from the agricultural sector and the meat industry could substantially improve the quality of their hides. We still have underutilized capacity in these areas. For instance we do not think it was a wise decision to eliminate the obligatory transfer of hog hides from domestic slaughterhouses. Nor did the decision to increase the slaughter weight of cattle to over 500 kilograms improve in any way hide utilization efficiency. Increasing the slaughter weight, in fact, decreases the yield from domestic cattle by 4-5 square decimeters per kilogram, limits its processability for the production of unit shoe soles, for direct application, etc.

Nor do we have at our disposal sufficient quantities of certain leatherworking materials, especially natural ones, but also plastics, such as polymers. Moreover, our synthetic leathers lag behind comparable foreign materials in performance characteristics. More significant improvements in the quality of footwear and accessories are also limited by a restricted supply of domestic tanning and leatherworking preparations, attachments, decorative items, etc. In the Seventh 5-Year Plan we made some progress in the production of these items but this in itself was not sufficient, and we remain dependent in this area on imports from nonsocialist countries. The above facts to a large extent explain our lack of competitiveness on world markets and make the sale of our products internationally very difficult.

#### Equipment Base of Light Industry

One of the main barriers to the more effective development of light industry in the Seventh 5-Year Plan was the inadequate development level of its equipment base. This is especially evident in the textile and clothing industry where in 1985 almost 65 percent of the capital equipment was obsolete, the

highest percentage for any of the centrally managed industries. This was the case despite the fact that in the 1970's our textile machinery industry had been able to offer several sets of equipment of state of the art sophistication and keep the domestic equipment base up to date as well. The supply of textile machinery available to domestic users, however, has gradually declined and currently represents 12-13 percent of total sales, which we consider an inadequate figure. The situation in domestic deliveries of machinery for the tanning, leatherworking and glass industries is more favorable but in these cases as well our machinery industry is falling far short of meeting demand, so the dependence on imports is still very high.

Under such conditions the equipment base of Czechoslovak light industry is kept current only at a price of increasing costs (costs for all types of machinery and equipment repairs on equipment that has been operating an average of 25 years amounts to 2-2.5 times the acquisition cost of the equipment) and at least one-third of all machines are operational well beyond their specified useful life. Progress in the automation, electrification and robotization of our light industry has been only haphazard, and we continue to lag behind world leaders in this regard. In particular, auxiliary activities such as materials manipulation, transportation and storage, show a low level of mechanization and automation. The installation of robots and manipulators is still at its early stages and most facilities are using imported equipment or one of a kind machines produced by our R&D base.

#### Labor Force

It is well known that light industrial sectors are for the most part highly labor intensive. This is shown clearly by the relatively high percentage of total industrial employment accounted for by light industry (15.8 percent of total employment in centrally managed industries in 1985, but only 11 percent of the output of these industries). The labor intensiveness of light industrial output is 40 percent higher than the average for industry as a whole. Labor productivity based on gross output for light industry was Kcs 168,000 per employee in 1985, compared with Kcs 259,000 per employee for industry as a whole. Such low productivity per employee is due to the low capital asset per worker ratio in these sectors and to the obsolescence of a large portion of the operating capital stock.

A large percentage of female employment is characteristic of this sector (more than 80 percent of the textile industry work force is female), high work intensity, especially in facilities with conveyor belt or group production (the clothing and footwear sectors), where changes have resulted in operators working at more than one machine (the textile industry) and where there is a high percentage of manual work (certain parts of the glass, ceramics and costume jewelry industries). At the same time average wages are lower than the national average for industry, with wages in the textile and clothing industries the lowest of all centrally managed industries.

These are probably the main reasons why these sectors have chronically failed to meet hiring targets in recent years. The employment situation is especially serious in certain industrial agglomerations with high concentrations of light



Industrial plants (Gottwaldov, Prostějov, Náchod, Liberec, Sejdel, Bratislava, the Partisan area, and Ruzomberk, etc.). The result is the inadequate utilization of existing machinery and a chronic need to take extraordinary steps to fulfill demanding production targets (these include overtime work, work on Saturdays, longer stints for brigades composed of managerial employees, the use of foreign workers, of foreign and domestic wage labor for the sewing of shoe vamps, work cloths, knitted underwear, etc.), all of which hamper the performance of the production system.

#### Exports of Light Industrial Products

As a result of the above-mentioned crises, the most recent 5-year plan saw a relatively significant change in the structure of the most economical marketing directions. While we were unsuccessful in meeting sales targets for exports to nonsocialist countries (1985 figures were 5 percent higher than those of 1981, while the target had been an 18 percent increase), we did manage to exceed export targets for socialist countries by 15 percent over the original plan targets, as well as domestic market deliveries (rather more in quantitative terms, with increases in deliveries of highest quality, fashionable and luxury novelty goods increasing at a slower pace than planned). The unsatisfactory performance in exports to nonsocialist countries is evident from the evolution of the differential indicator, our measure of the effectiveness of foreign trade:

#### Evolution of the Differential Indicator for CSSR Light Industry

##### Differential indicator in exports:

	to socialist countries		Differ- ence 85-81	to non- socialist countries		Differ- ence 85-81
	1980	1985		1980	1985	
Light industry, total	82.9	94.5	+ 11.6	86.3	82.8	- 3.5
Individual sectors:						
Textile industry	74.0	87.5	+ 13.5	78.0	74.8	- 3.2
Clothing industry	65.5	70.6	+ 5.1	83.1	70.4	- 12.7
Leatherworking industry	93.7	106.8	+ 13.1	90.9	87.4	- 3.5
Glass, ceramics industry	90.6	124.0	+ 33.4	99.9	101.5	+ 1.6
Printing industry	96.1	146.6	+ 50.5	83.0	70.7	- 12.3

From the above table it is clear that the differential indicator has been developing positively in trade with the socialist countries, with the highest growth achieved in the glass and the printing industries. Evolution has proceeded in the opposite direction in relations with nonsocialist countries where, with the exception of the glass, ceramics and porcelain industries, there have been across the board declines, often very severe ones. Although the differential indicator is not the most appropriate and indicative figure for measuring the efficiency of foreign trade it can indicate moving shortcomings. For instance, part of our problems in trade with nonsocialist countries is that many of our products are standard, there has been an

ongoing shortage of state of the art products, and we have experienced increased competition from Third World countries.

At the level of individual economic promotion units (VRJ) the most positive evolution of the differential indicator has been recorded by Jahanec Costume Jewelry (+12.4 percent), Tutyary Glass Industry (+4.8 percent) and the Navy Star Crystaline VRJ (+4.2 percent). The greatest declines in the differential indicator were recorded by Pinstripe Clothing Industry (-14.7 percent), Teylian Glass Union (-14.3 percent), and Brakes Kralove Leatherworking and Accessories Industry (-11.1 percent). We could also document the unfavorable development of exports in non-socialist countries with other indicators, mainly the foreign currency evaluation of costs indicator, which excludes distortions caused by differences in profitability included in wholesale prices of products. Also unfavorable are comparisons of Czechoslovak kilogram prices with kilogram prices of leading EEC producers. We obtain an average price only 30-40 percent of the price obtained by EEC producers, and in some cases the percentage is lower.

The list of problems discussed so far is not by any means exhaustive. We could continue, for instance, with the pricing policy in light industry where a lack of flexibility and slow reaction to changes in demand on the domestic market cause retail pricing problems. One example is our continued poor use of seasonal pricing, etc. Lack of pricing flexibility makes domestic market penetration by innovative products a slower process especially when the new products are competing with the products they are replacing, which have not yet been completely sold off. There are still opportunities in the development of the international division of labor with socialist countries where we have still proven incapable of setting up truly effective product cooperation and specialization, coordinating joint-venture projects, expand the direct exchange of product lines, work projects to rectify the lack of state of the art equipment, to make broader use of the possibilities inherent in active and passive licensing policies, etc.

In line with the CPCE Central Committee Assent on Fulfillment of the Resolutions of the 17th CPCE Congress, issued in March 1986, one may state that Czechoslovak Light Industry during the Seventh 5-Year Plan contributed to an improved satisfaction of the needs of the general public and to an increase in the overall standard of living. At present, however, has a number of shortcomings and continued underutilized capacity, especially in assuring variety and high quality consumer goods, but also in reacting to changes in demand on both the domestic and foreign markets, reactions which have not been nearly as flexible as would be desired.

#### Basic Objectives For Development of Light Industry in the Eighth 5-Year Plan

In formulating the main objectives for the development of light industry in the Eighth 5-Year Plan (1986-1990) party and central economic agencies based their discussions on analyses of developments during the Seventh 5-Year Plan, on the need to implement very rapidly the socio-economic development strategy of intensifying the national economy, and on more rapid practical application of EEC results.

Guidelines of the 17th CPCZ Congress therefore emphasize that the future development of CSSR light industry must give priority to improvements in the quality and fashionability of its products, expanding the production of high quality products and making systematic innovations in consumer goods product lines, both for domestic consumption and for export. Given the current state of development and the above-mentioned problems it is especially necessary to modernize the production facilities in certain sectors, mainly knitting, clothing, leatherworking, and the footwear industries, by installing modern equipment. The implementation of this modernization program should bring not only demonstrable economic gains but is also necessary for socio-political reasons, because it should go a long way to eliminating what is now very physically exhausting and monotonous work, especially for women, who represent the vast majority of the work force in these sectors. Plans also call for the importing of more standardized goods for the domestic market, mainly from Third World countries, which should enable us to effectively restructure certain domestic production facilities to produce products with higher value added.

The fundamental ideas behind these dynamic changes in production facilities of light industry are contained in CSSR Government Resolution No 240/85, which concerned the modernization of selected sectors, namely the knitting, clothing, leatherworking, and footwear industries. In conjunction with this resolution individual VUJ developed modernization programs for the Eighth 3-Year Plan. The above conception represents the start of the process of the full reconstruction and modernization of our light industry, and should last until 1990 and beyond. Plans call, therefore, for the submission to the federal government in 1988 of a document on the status of the textile, clothing and leatherworking industries which will project their development through the year 2000 (production structure, involvement in socialist economic integration, deliveries to consumer goods inventories, raw materials base, capital stock, overall economic sophistication, etc.), including investment and foreign currency resources necessary for implementation. Concurrently a Conceptual Program for the Modernization of Light Industry 1991-2000 will be proposed, which should be integrated into the State Priority Program, Modernization of Selected Consumer Goods.

In general, one needs to view this modernization program for light industry in a comprehensive manner. It must include all critical aspects of the production process including textile and leatherworking primary products, and become the concern of individual enterprises, which should each develop specific modernization proposals, document their benefits to society, their economic efficiency and the capability of each enterprise to execute them effectively. Modernization must, after all, involve not only basic structural changes in the knitting, clothing, leatherworking, and footwear industries, but also in textile and leatherworking primary production. Enterprise proposals should therefore include suggestions for modernizing certain facilities of the cotton, wool, flax, and tanning industries.

Implementing such plans in the textile industry for instance would expand the availability of modern types of yarns and cloth, fabrics, lighter types of pile and knitted fabrics, batting and padding materials, the modernization of

processing and enhancing facilities, such as weaving mills, dye houses, and printing plants. In the leather industry modernization will take place of facilities that still have a high degree of manual and physically tiring labor, especially wet operations, where computerized systems will be installed to control production operations, continuous lines, etc. The objective is not only to increase the percentage of light and soft leathers as a percentage of total output and to improve the quality of surface preparation, but also to improve the overall working environment.

At the secondary production level modernization should shorten the time required in preparations for actual production, conserve raw materials and parts, improve the equipment installed in workshops and production facilities (including semi- and fully automated sewing machines, modern transportation systems, programmable sewing machines, for footwear production, etc.), make possible the broader utilization of the Apex, Markamatik and other electronic systems, speed up innovation in the clothing and footwear product lines, as well as shorten the innovation cycles and improve labor productivity to a level comparable with that of developed capitalist countries. Depending on the project the payback period for the foreign currency resources allocated to the procurement of raw materials, materials and equipment for these modernization projects should fluctuate in the 3-5 year range (with payment being generated by exports of finished textile, clothing, and leather goods to non-socialist countries). After the debts are paid off there will be expanded opportunities for a wider assortment of consumer goods for the domestic market, as well as for export to socialist countries, either through direct exchanges or by expanding mutual exchanges of goods in the domestic retail trade network.

Along with the proposed modernization program and increases in imports of standard consumer goods it will also be necessary to formulate and draft programs for placing our products that require heavy material inputs, are very labor intensive, and which do not produce the desired revenues either domestically or abroad.

In other parts of this article we want to raise certain critical tasks that should be fulfilled by individual sectors of light industry during the Eighth 5-Year Plan.

#### Glass, Ceramics and Porcelain Industry

This planning group will remain an important export sector in the Eighth 5-Year Plan. At a minimum it will retain its position in international markets. In line with the resolutions of the 15th CPCZ Congress and the tasks for the Eighth 5-Year Plan this sector should focus mainly on:

- Improving the quality of glass vessels and the efficiency with which secondary raw materials, especially glass shanks, are processed, because the percentage of these materials in the raw glass is increasing;
- Installing a second line for finishing glass at the Float Plant in Bekevic, and the economically appropriate utilization of this facility for domestic and export markets;

- Gradual expansion of the production of fabrics from glass fibers for the electro-technical industry;
- Expansion of production of light-cured, circulating packing materials with reinforced surfaces, mainly for the food industry and to take full advantage of the melting capabilities of high capacity vats;
- Developing and installing the equipment to produce fiber optical cables for information transmission in communications equipment and for other uses;
- Modernizing the production of household china and ceramics, especially in the realm of equipment and facilities (central processing centers for material, the use of isostatic pressing, reducing energy requirements during firing, etc.), innovation in the development of shapes and designs for porcelain, expanding the product line of so-called relief-pattern porcelains to include decorative objects and the Baroque style, which successfully imitates classical forms and expands the potential for modelling;
- Giving priority to increasing production of glass costume jewelry, metallurgical and enhanced pearls, machine polished gems, metal costume jewelry with high quality surface finishes, pendants made of quality leaded glass, etc.;
- Assessing the potential for vitalizing stocking export warehouses, mainly for producers of household glassware and costume jewelry, in order to improve service and enable faster response to changes in consumer demand;
- Implementing effective technical innovations, such as mechanization and automation in the forming of metallurgical materials and semifinished goods from general purpose glass, modern machinery for the production of metal costume jewelry, expanding one-way technologies for drawing glass, the electronically controlled winding of glass fibers, mechanical pouring in the making of fine ceramics, innovative machinery for glass drawing, expanding the technology for the narrow-mouthed pressure blowing of container glass, etc.

#### The Textile and Clothing Industry

The development of this sector will be limited in the Eighth 5-Year Plan by raw materials constraints (cotton fibers will still account for more than 50 percent of textile industry fiber consumption). The export performance of this sector will be mainly tied to developments on capitalist markets. There are opportunities to expand exports to new currency markets, as shown by the signing in June 1986 of the third bilateral agreement between the USSR and the GDR covering exports of Czechoslovak textile products to the countries of the EEC. This agreement took effect on 1 January 1987. The agreement provides that the USSR may increase exports of these types of items by 3 percent (in tonnage) or by 4 percent (in number of pieces) over Seventh 5-Year Plan levels. This agreement towards the productionist efforts of some capitalist countries and stabilized mutual economic relations.



In line with the tasks of the 17th CPCZ Congress and the Eighth 5-Year Plan the main focus of the employees of the textile and clothing industries must be on the following:

--The effective utilization of domestic and imported textile raw materials, including secondary sources by means of the optimal utilization of endless, spinnable, and other fibrous linear forms (such as the expanded production of fine cotton yarn, light wool and cotton fabrics and knits, new types of lining cloth, batting and padding materials, pile fabrics, industrial fabrics, with high secondary raw material content for agriculture, construction, forest management, the automotive industry, etc.);

--Reducing energy requirements by such steps as rebuilding old boilers, the effective replacement of heat sources, the installation of recovery systems for heat recycling in processing plants, the application of progressive techniques for dyeing, the broader application of microprocessor technology, computer graphics, etc.;

--Systematic production innovation that reacts flexibly to domestic and foreign market requirements at the requisite levels of economic efficiency (and in addition to the above suggestions for expanding the production of nonwoven textiles in flax-polypropylene mixtures, the final processing of textiles to give them long lasting use characteristics, such as stain resistance, permanent press, antistatic treatments, drapability, soft handle, easy maintenance, wrinkle resistance, etc., as well as the further development of health care materials and selected knitted goods, with particular emphasis on leisure time and sporting goods, etc.);

--Shortening technical preparation time in final and secondary production by implementing modern electronic systems that speed up the design, grading and reproduction of pattern parts, the drawing of pattern marks (Markamatik machines), that optimize the number of cuts made, save materials and expand the number of patterns;

--Reducing production costs and increasing labor productivity by modernizing textile equipment and installing progressive machinery and equipment (such as the modernizing of certain processing and enhancing facilities, the modernizing of knitting output by installing state of the art, electronically controlled flat bed and large size knitting machines, electronically controlled Jacquard and Raschel machines for producing lace, expanding threadless joining by installing machines for continuous and threadless welding, etc.);

--The comprehensive modernization of sewing workshops in the knitting and clothing industries by installing sewing machines and semi-automated machines, modern transportation systems that eliminate the manual transfer of materials and physical fatigue, the introduction of integrated ironing centers, the provision of modern packing and finishing equipment;

--In conjunction with the ministries of trade and foreign trade enterprises attention must be paid to projections of the product mix for imported goods in an attempt to eliminate domestic market disproportions and shortages of certain types of standard goods;

--Improving commercial cooperation with the domestic retail network by expanding the number of speciality sales outlets with high quality goods presented in a more fashionable atmosphere, improved customer service, especially in factory outlet and factory supported sales outlets;

--Expanding the supply of innovative products and the exchange of goods in the domestic sales networks of the CEMA countries, the gradual reduction in wage work from the GDR by providing garments sewn at production cooperatives, and local management enterprises from imported materials and the use of excess capacity to improve the variety of the goods supplied to consumer goods inventories; the proposal and evaluation of appropriate economically promising cooperation with established Western firms, and strengthening ties between producers and foreign trade.

The successful implementation of the above projects is obviously dependent on how actively and creatively the relevant sectors supply the textile and clothing industries with their basic and secondary raw materials (mainly agriculture and the chemical industries), how reliably they receive deliveries of equipment (the machine tool industry), and how well they are able to sell their output on the domestic and foreign markets.

#### Leatherworking, Footwear, Accessory and Fur Industries

Just as in the textile industry, these sectors also anticipate some changes in their capital equipment. Otherwise the leatherworking industries plan to develop along qualitative lines (the ongoing circulation of goods with an increasing percentage of high quality, fashionable and luxury goods). There will not be a great physical increase in actual units produced, because the domestic market at this point is saturated (we are among the world leaders in footwear consumption per capita). Another limiting factor will also be at play here, namely the significant degree of dependence of this sector on imported raw materials (raw cattle hides) and the lack of enough synthetic leather materials of the requisite quality.

The following will be essential for this sector to develop:

--Modernize obsolete tannery equipment, replacing it with computerized process control, continual lines, materials manipulators, etc. There must be a gradual increase of light and soft leather production (to as much as 80 percent of all flat leathers) that will be appropriate for specialty and luxury footwear. Increase the percentage of leather splits with better surface treatment for the manufacture of small and medium size accessories. Working conditions need to be improved at tanneries, especially wet tanneries, substantially reduce the amount of physically demanding work, and improve working conditions;

--Intensify the development and production of auxiliary tanning preparations, glues and chemicals (production technologies need to be modernized, imported preparations need to be replaced with domestic ones, joint centers need to be built to coordinate research on and the production of these items within the CEMA, etc.). Increased attention needs to be devoted to the efficient processing of tannery wastes, both in relation to leatherworking production

but in other sectors as well (agriculture, the fat and chemical industries, etc.) in the interest of the best possible use of the available leather;

--In footwear production most of our efforts need to be devoted to modernizing individual production operations. In particular production processes need to be modernized for component parts and semifinished goods (including the installation of computerized equipment for the cutting of leather parts, the use of lasers and water beams to cut textile materials, and the use of state of the art cutting equipment to produce soles from rubber and plastic materials), the sewing of vamps (eliminating manual work by installing imported programmable sewing machines and those developed domestically), the modernization of assembly lines for the gluing of shoes (using the technology of direct spraying, etc.), expand the use of robots and manipulators, etc.;

--Production innovations in the footwear industry must be aimed at improving the variety of goods supplied for the domestic and international markets in terms of quality, fashionability and workmanship. The comfort and quality of leather shoes must be increased through the increased use of soft leathers and their appropriate combination with textiles, polymer and plastic materials. In the area of textile shoes the percentage of shoes produced for leisure time and sporting purposes needs to increase, making greater use of coated fabrics, new types of soles, etc. For plastic shoes the use of injection molding equipment needs to be refined, and the percentage of safety work shoes and cast shoes must increase. The production of polymer shoes must be reduced in favor of leather shoe production, and the production of shoes with spatially formed uppers must increase. The development of special purpose shoes must also continue (in particular shoes for the nuclear industry, the glass industry, etc.);

--In the leather accessories industry production developments must focus on expanding the product line to include light and spacious handbags and wallets from textiles, plastic suitcases and suitcases from fibrous leather materials made from secondary raw materials, new types of attache cases, wallets, money belts, sporting goods, high fashion leather clothes with excellent use characteristics, etc. Fur production must focus on products with highly refined leatherwork and production processing, and on expanding the marketing of furs from domestic raw materials (rabbit, nutria, etc.);

--In the area of foreign trade we need to research the still underutilized forms for cooperation with nonsocialist countries possessing advanced leatherworking industries, especially those which could import to us semifinished goods, equipment, trademark rights, and special components needed to improve the supply and quality of footwear. We could pay for such imports by exporting semifinished goods or finished leather goods. We also need to support expansion of cooperation in the production of protective and safety shoes that conform to the standards of the Czechoslovak Standards Association, German Industrial Norms [DIN], etc.;

--Improve cooperation between manufacturers and domestic retailers (conforming production possibilities to market requirements, resolving problems of size groupings, expanding the network of sales outlets with fashionable styles and

high quality goods, and improving the overall presentation of leather goods in sales outlets).

#### Printing Industry

This industry makes only a small contribution to light industrial output--5.5 percent of the total for 1985. For 1986-1990 the sector will grow at only a moderate rate with the growth target for the 5-year plan being 10 percent. Limiting factors include possibilities for modernizing its capital stock and paper consumption, which will be flat for the Eighth 5-Year Plan. The most attention needs to be focused on:

- Developing a set of measures to modernize the capital stock, and implementing them gradually;
- Increasing the production of printed matter for the computer industry;
- Increasing the sophistication of technical and artistic publications for the domestic and foreign markets.

In conclusion it must again be noted that the tasks facing light industry in the Eighth 5-Year Plan are demanding and will require from all accountable elements a consistent focus on the qualitative aspects of the production process, strengthening the development of those sectors and groups that depend mainly on domestic raw materials and which have the potential to compete successfully abroad. We also need to pay much greater attention to the more rapid practical application of R&D progress (increasing the efficiency of consumption of raw materials, materials, energy, the introduction of higher level production and technological innovations that will have a positive impact on international trade). Efforts by the employees of the light industrial sectors will not be sufficient however. It must be supported by the work of related sectors as well, i.e., in those providing the necessary raw materials, those responsible for increasing the percentage of domestically produced machines in the capital stock, and those responsible for increasing domestic and international sales of our light industrial products. Another essential condition of success is the use of higher forms of socialist economic integration with CEMA member countries and the implementation of necessary programs in wage, social, and pricing policy. The goal of all these efforts is clear: to contribute to an across-the-board development of socialist society and an increase in the living standards of more people, in line with the resolutions of the 17th CPCZ Congress.

9276/6091

CSO: 2400/364



## ANNIVERSARY OF SMALL GROWERS' ORGANIZATION

Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 19 May 87 p 1

[Text] This year, members of the Czech Small Growers' Association are celebrating the 30th anniversary of their activities. The organization had then 46,000 members, but the history of organized small growers' activity goes back in our country for 120 years.

At present, the Association has close to half a million members in almost 5,000 basic organizations (other 200,000 are members of sister organizations in the SSR), best indicating the great interest in this activity. It is on the increase particularly among young people in suburban housing developments; who are seeking meaningful ways how to spend their free time. It also shows how people in a developed, civilized society search ever more intensely for an active leisure in living nature.

Although we may regard gardening activity primarily as a hobby bringing joy to the participants, it benefits as well considerably the whole society. On land which would otherwise remain fallow (the SGA members exploit presently a surface of almost 40,000 hectares), small growers produce fruit, vegetables, spices and medicinal herbs not only for their own use, but for sale to state, cooperative and associative establishments as well.

To give an example: during the past year, they delivered 89,000 metric tons of fruit, more than 22,000 metric tons of vegetables; over 23,000 tons of produce was processed in cider, preserves and drying plants. Helping in agriculture, they delivered over one and a half million of brigade working hours and donated almost seven million hours for beautification of their communities. Their green space and flower decoration work was worth close to 45 million crowns.

While enumerating all beneficial activities of the small growers, we should mention as well the contests of Streets in Bloom, the educational and cultural activities, the collaboration with schools and Pioneer Organizations, the exhibitions and excursions, simply all the endeavors serving to enhance specialization and expertise of all members and of potential interested parties.



The fact that small growers are important producers of some of our food is of no lesser significance. They grow manual work-intensive vegetables, the industrial technology of which has not been solved as yet, and they supply our market with this commodity in a much larger volume than the state and cooperative agricultural enterprises. It is indeed in our common interest that their products be not only pretty to look at but tasty, nutritious and healthful as well.

The successful activity of the Czech Small Growers' Association could bring even better results if they had less problems in cooperating with some of their partners. According to CSGA's President V. Jezek, small growers are particularly dissatisfied with the services of "Semptra". They are unable to purchase young trees, shrubbery and decorative plants in quantities and assortments they would like to.

The ranks of small growers would most probably become even more numerous, were they not facing certain administrative obstacles. Already 28,000 CSGA members are waiting for two, even three years for allocation of gardening land. In spite of the ready availability of such land, its allotment must be preceded by an approval of 20 or 30 relevant institutions. And without a piece of land they could "dig into," more people interested in "amateur" growing cannot be recruited.

"We are advising our organizations to conclude contracts with potential buying partners" says V. Jezek, "and to honor those contracts fully. This assures a greater satisfaction to both parties."

Small growers wish to improve the existing shortages of certain vegetables, as, for instance, garlic. A close cooperation with the Association with the commerce, agricultural services, planning offices and all other interested parties is a must. The goal is a broad offer of vitamins and satisfaction of both the growers and consumers.

12707

CSO: 2400/290

## DRINKING HABITS ANALYZED AT TREATMENT CENTER

Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech 11 Apr 87 p 9

[Article by Jana Schillingova: "Drug Number One"]

[Excerpts] In the past year, we drank in the CSR 948,549 hectoliters of wine, 580,345 hl of liquors and almost 15.5 million hl of beer. Computed to individual inhabitant (babies and youngsters included), it means that each of "mastered" nine liters of wine, six liters of "something stronger" and roughly 150 liters of the frothy beverage. On the whole, we do not belong among the "top champions" of alcoholic beverage drinkers in the world-- we occupy maybe the 10th place. But where our "liquid bread" is concerned, we are ranked third.

It seems therefore that on the whole we should be satisfied, we are not that badly off. However, the consumption of alcohol is steadily rising and experts are referring to certain warning signs....

Tracing the drug number one, the oldest and most widely used in the world, we visited first the Psychiatric Research Institute in Prague - Bohnice. In 1981, a long-term study on the consumption of alcohol among Prague young men was started there. This work lasted five years and more than thousand Prague men between the ages of 22 and 33, chosen at random, had to answer roughly hundred questions contained in the research study. But let us give the floor to one of the scientists who prepared and conducted the study -- L.Kubicek, PhD.

"Our goal was to contribute to the prevention of unhealthy alcohol consumption, which means that we intended to identify the factor influencing it."

And here are the results: "37 percent of the men questioned admitted that they drank alcohol daily and 87 percent at least once a week.

36 percent of men ordered beer daily and two-thirds of them drank usually three or more glasses in one order. Approximately one-fourth of Prague young men consume quantities which could be called risky."

It should be first explained what experts call risky. Many may be surprised that it means "only" 40-50 grams of pure alcohol a day, which represents an average of 3-4 glasses of beer. Thus, one-fourth of the respondents admitted such or even higher daily dose. And I am purposely using the word "admitted," because psychiatrists and doctors are well aware that people tend to deny roughly a half of the actual quantity.... And once again, Dr. L. Kubicka has the floor: "Let us talk about the real danger. Besides addiction, consumption of large quantities of alcohol threatens to cause additional health damages: liver cirrhosis, digestive tract illnesses, particularly stomach ulcers, pancreas disorders, cancer of the digestive tract, etc. The circulatory system, mental health and social integration are endangered as well."

Are you trying to figure out now where we stand? One beer has 1-16 grams of pure alcohol. How many do you actually drink in a week? Daily consumption exceeding 40 grams endangers your health, to consume about 100 grams daily means already a catastrophic health burden. This is then the price people have to pay sooner or later....

The answers to the next questions were startling. Full one-third of the questioned men stated that their daily "normal" was five and more beers at one sitting, every fifth one of them drinks six and more glasses. A full 40 percent of people consider as excessive only ten or more beers. Such tolerance is alarming. "The problem consists in the fact that many people are not at all aware that even occasional high consumption can lead particularly to impairment of brain functions."

"As psychologists, we also dealt with the question why people drink. We have defined four functions of alcohol. First of all, it serves as a complement to meals. Those who really drink only with meals, consume very little as a rule and we do not have to worry about them. Next function of alcohol is social. There are already some risks involved in this type of drinking, although most people have a positive attitude to it, like to the first one. The danger however lies in the fact that those who drink a glass exclusively with meals seldom get drunk, while at celebrations, parties with friends etc., intoxication is hardly an exception.

Definitely risky is to drink with the purpose to get drunk--experts call it the orgasmic function of alcohol. Roughly 20 percent of drinkers take a glass exactly for that reason. To indulge heavily in drinking once in a while is considered by them an innocent amusement belonging to life. There are not many men who are thinking this way, but those who do belong among the youngest category and that is bad.

A minority maintains that it is reasonable to drown problems in alcohol -- this we call escape drinking, characteristic for problem drinkers. Such people end up with medical treatment." These are some of the results of a broadly conceived research which confirmed again that a great majority of people have a very indulgent view about drinking. A similar research among women is now under preparation.

High, vaulted ceilings and great silence. Here, in the anti-alcoholic institution are those who have crossed the imaginary and extremely unstable border line changing excessive consumption into an illness, a totally destructive illness ruining mentally, physically and socially. The roads they follow before they arrive here are often different. Let Dr. M.Birkasova explain: "Some come on their own free will, others end up at emergency stations and voluntarily decide to get treatment. Others are brought by relatives or recommended by AT stations (Ambulant Offices for Alcohol and Drug Abusers). We have here as well enforced treatments, ordered by the National Committee upon recommendation of the enterprise, family, citizens' committees etc. Former patients who, after having been treated here start drinking again but wish to get rid of their dependency, are given first aid and are re-admitted for a short-term treatment. They usually stay here for two weeks...."

On the average, the patients spend three months here under a strict and uncompromising regime. Daily routine has to be observed, tasks fulfilled, otherwise bad points threaten individuals or a group they belong to; this often means a ban on home visits.

Wake-up time is six a.m., followed by exercise, hygiene, cleaning-up, breakfast and morning report. The previous day is discussed and the current one is prepared. Between 9 a.m. and noon is working time. The patients help in the kitchen, in the garden, serve at the emergency station or work at the near-by Botanical Garden. After lunch starts the group psychotherapy program; Mondays belong to lectures on alcohol and the dependency on it, on.... It is not necessary to discuss in detail the program led by psychotherapists. It should be added however, that nobody dares to "doze off" during the program, as there are exams, mostly written ones, from each subject. These are often papers three pages long. Each patient also has to keep a diary. After six weeks, the first weekend visit home is allowed. At that time, a 16-page long biography has to be written. Everybody manages.

Self-discipline, responsibility to others, dependability. These are the qualities they should learn here. To forget about drinking, to get used to life without the drug. Sports, games, work, interdependence of the individual and the group -- all this helps to accomplish the goal....

The system of treatment, introduced here by the initiator of the struggle against alcohol in our country Dr. J. Skala, is very successful. "In the first year after the treatment, 55 percent of patients abstain. After three years, 45 percent. Problems exist, of course. Our 50 beds for the entire CSR (and we accept also patients from the SSR) are not sufficient. Waiting period for treatments is approximately two months. It also happens that a patient leaves after the first few days, claiming that our regime is too demanding. We cannot prevent him to do so - he came voluntarily. We also have problems with the nurses, they have to serve at the emergency station as well. Not everyone likes it and therefore they change often..." adds Dr. Birkasova. "And there is something else I would like to mention. At our institution, 'U Apolinare,' we are treating only men. As I see the situation however, the number of female alcoholics is increasing. Twenty to

twenty-five years ago there was one woman for 20 men. Today, the ratio men:women in the CSR is 7:1. Furthermore, the treatment of women is more demanding, it lasts approximately four months.

There is a warning: on the average, an adult man develops alcohol dependency in 15-20 years, young men in three years, women in two years. The sad fact is that women often come very late, because they managed for a long time to drink secretly at home and to conceal the illness."

We are paying a steep price for alcohol. People pay with their health and sometime even with their life. In the CSR alone last year, drivers and pedestrians caused 6313 traffic accidents due to alcohol, with 159 people killed. Material damages amounted to 36 million crowns. The principal culprits were drunk drivers. Roughly one-third of the criminal offenses occurring last year has alcohol as an accessory. What's more, most of the offenders who acted under the influence of drug number one were predominantly young people.

12707

CSO: 2400/286



## OFFICIAL ATTEMPTS TO ADDRESS GYPSY PROBLEMS DESCRIBED

Budapest OTLET in Hungarian 7 May 87 pp 36-37

[Interview with Mrs Istvan Kovacs, Director, Office of the Counsel, Council of Ministers by Lajos Hozes: "Dialog Concerning Gypsies"]

[Text] [Question] Since when have you been dealing with the situation of Gypsies at the governmental level?

[Answer] Ever since the 1961 Political Committee resolution the cabinet and the Council of Ministers reviewed the Gypsy population's situation several times, and brought resolutions concerning timely tasks to improve their lot in the interest of integration. The last review took place in 1985. In addition, based upon a cabinet decision, there exists and Interagency Coordinating Committee since 1968. The Committee deals with current problems. Members of the Committee are deputy ministers or chief department heads of concerned ministries.

The improvement of the Gypsy situation involves occupational, residential, educational and social policy issues. The coordination of these policy issues is the council's task, and this is why the coordination of work was assigned to the Office of the Counsel of the Council of Ministers. Beginning in the early seventies the various county councils also formed similar coordinating committees. In 1977 secretaries for Gypsy affairs have been appointed to each county committee. I view this fact as important because at that point in time the coordination, control, and support of these tasks became more consistent and better coordinated. It is no coincidence that between the late seventies and 1984 the processes which turned Gypsy lives into positive directions have accelerated.

[Question] As the Secretary to the Interagency Committee, how do you evaluate the road that was traveled since 1961?

[Answer] Let us not forget that during this time the Gypsy population's standard of living has changed greatly. A majority of the Gypsies was illiterate, they had to catch up with the social average. This, however, is impossible. It is impossible to accomplish this in 25 years because the

Gypsies were backward in every respect. Actually the only appropriate question that may be asked is whether the difference between Gypsies and the average population has lessened or increased. Just how big a step did the Gypsies take as compared to their own, earlier situation? In this sense their situation has changed greatly. Regarding the liquidation of Gypsy settlements we have accomplished that today only about 10 percent of the Gypsies live under such circumstances. I would like to be able to say that such settlements no longer exist. They do. But 10 percent living in such settlements is still less than 70 percent. In addition, among those who had left their settlements, there is a substantial number of Gypsies who have since expanded their apartments, made it more comfortable, and have thus greatly changed their lifestyles. Of course there are many for whom the change in lifestyle caused numerous problems.

And in this respect we should be concerned about our perspective. A majority of Gypsies completed only four or five grades. We expect from these people that they think the same way as those who had the opportunity to go to school for 15 years. Even the way it is, many had to make superhuman efforts in order to progress. A majority of Gypsy parents--and I can't cite a number off the top of my head--is illiterate or have completed only one or two elementary grades. Considering this situation it is a great accomplishment if their children complete five or eight grades. Except for the fact that reality has changed far more, and the eight grades amount to about the same as the illiteracy of the Gypsy father. Eighth grade education qualifies one to be an unskilled laborer.

In 1971 the Sociological Research Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences [MTA] made a nation-wide assessment concerning the Gypsy population's situation. At that time 85 percent of working age Gypsy men, and 30 percent of Gypsy women worked. I will mention only the important economic indicators. The number of dependents per wage earner was three times as much than in non-Gypsy families. In other words, there were 224 (!) dependents for every 100 wage earners. Not to mention the fact that from the 100 wage earners 80 were low-paid unskilled laborers.

[Question] And from the viewpoint of enterprises this came at the right time...

[Answer] Indeed. The economic regulations of the 1970's favorably influenced the employment of Gypsies, because the enterprises were interested in hiring unskilled laborers. By hiring unskilled workers they could increase the wages of other workers without increasing their average wages. Beginning in the 1970's until the early eighties there was a favorable trend in the employment of Gypsies. It was not 30 percent of Gypsy women, but 52 percent that had some kind of an employment relationship. The percentage of employed Gypsy males remained unchanged at 85 percent. This, incidentally is the same ratio we find in the non-Gypsy male population. In the meantime the ratio of unskilled laborers dropped from 80 to 52 percent, and the number of skilled Gypsy workers rose from 10 to 24 percent. Or, for example, a decade ago an overwhelming majority of Gypsies was able to find work only in construction and in the field of sanitation. Today their ratio in industry and in agriculture is similar to the national average and their ratio is increasing in the tertiary branches also.

There are significant changes in family size also. Earlier a majority of Gypsy families was large. Today, the average Gypsy family has two or three children. Certainly, those two or three children amount to twice as many than in non-Gypsy families, where we find one or two children. The increased ratio of working women, and the fact that there are fewer children, improved the wage earner/dependent ratio compared to the earlier period. In other words, as of today there are 150 dependents for every 100 wage earners. And since their position has improved in the hierarchy of division of labor, this is reflected in the family income also.

[Question] But if we compare this situation with that of non-Gypsies, the picture is not so bright...

[Answer] It is a fact that while 52 percent of Gypsy laborers is unskilled, only 12 percent of non-Gypsy laborers is unskilled. At the same time only 9 percent of Gypsy laborers is qualified as a skilled worker, while within the total population 30 percent is skilled. The number of highly qualified intellectual workers is very low among Gypsies. All this determines their earnings situation; the fact is that there are 150 dependents for each 100 Gypsy wage earners, while a similar ratio among non-Gypsies is 100:60. Just on the basis of these few statistics, the Gypsies' disadvantaged situation becomes apparent. At the same time there are concerns that this favorable trend will come to an end in our days. In today's economy the disadvantaged and the unskilled are the least favored.

[Question] What can the Interagency Committee do?

[Answer] The Committee regularly receives reports from the counties and from national authorities regarding the Gypsy population's situation within their respective jurisdictions. For example: the State Wage and Labor Affairs Office last December informed the Committee about the employment situation of, and available employment opportunities for Gypsies. The Committee took the position that both central and county governmental actions implementing employment policies must pay special attention to the peculiar situation of Gypsies. They must endeavour to find employment for women and for the young primarily where they reside.

In addition, for instance seven counties have worked out a program for the Seventh 5-Year Plan to enable the disadvantaged to catch up with the national average. Their main purpose is to create jobs in these places so as to expand employment opportunities. These counties include Borsod, Szabolcs, Baranya and Somogy, all of which have significant Gypsy populations, and this is why we pay special attention to the improvement of their job opportunities. There is something else we were able to let there evolved, or is in the process of evolving, a national family assistance service. The social workers of these family assistance services receive assignments in many areas to help those in their area with employment problems. In such cases the social workers will contact the enterprises or notify the local councils or employment offices.

I would like to emphasize that there is no separate Gypsy employment policy. But since most Gypsies are disadvantaged with respect to job opportunities also, it does happen that they are the first ones to be dismissed in conjunction with workforce reductions. This is why we must pay special attention to Gypsy workers.

[Question] The general public believes that the government supports the Gypsies.

[Answer] In cases involving needy families, nursery and day-care fees are waived, or alternatively paid for by the councils. This fact, as well as assistance provided to Gypsy families, created a popular belief that we are supporting Gypsies in Hungary.

I would like to emphasize that there is no special support system for Gypsies. Support is granted on the basis of need, irrespective of whether the needy are Gypsies or non-Gypsies. It is quite natural that Gypsies receive assistance from councils, or receive kindergarten reimbursements to a larger extent than non-Gypsies. This is so only because their need is greater. If we review, however, the ratio of Gypsies at universities, academies and skilled worker training schools, we find that the picture of over-support is completely different. The scholarship and education of a university student, an academician or a skilled worker costs many times more than the reimbursements provided for the nursery school or day-care school of a child. These interrelationships are not known to the public. I could go on with such examples. Those who make a living by performing occasional work, or those young girls (women) who leave school to give birth to a child, do not receive family supplements. And further, due to the fact that the average lifespan of Gypsies is much shorter than the national average, they enjoy pension benefits for a proportionately shorter period of time. In other words, more Gypsies discontinue receiving social benefits and subsidies from which other strata of society receive a proportionately larger share.

Beyond this fact, if we consider certain products and services that are provided free of charge--phonograph records, theater, books, recreation provided by unions, etc.--we find that Gypsies and other disadvantaged groups hardly benefit from these, precisely because they are disadvantaged. This then does not suggest that Gypsies receive excessive amounts of support. The housing support of Gypsies is also being perceived erroneously by the public. We are not talking about residential support for Gypsies only. There is a program by which those who reside in settlements that do not meet certain social criteria can receive supplements. Not only Gypsies live in such settlements. Everyone can take advantage of subsidized credits, anyone who lives in such settlements or under similar conditions. Unfortunately, however, the press provides erroneous information concerning the transfer of apartments to Gypsies. Those apartments were purchased by Gypsies, they must pay their mortgage the same way as other citizens.

[Question] The economic disadvantage of Gypsies is clear. What can we expect in the future?

[Answer] During the sixties the main task was to end the segregation of Gypsies, to enact related laws, to enhance their introduction into the societal division of labor, to establish more human housing conditions, and to assure education for their children. In these days there is a qualitative difference in tasks. Today the key issue is to see to it that Gypsies do not get stuck at the level of unskilled laborers, and that their young learn a trade.



Unfortunately, progress is being made at a slower rate than what would be desirable with respect to raising the educational level. Here too one discovers a favorable trend however, e.g. according to assessments the rate by which Gypsies pass the eight grades, i.e. without failing and repeating, has increased. In 1961 only 3-4 percent of Gypsy children passed the eight grades on time, by the age of 14. In 1971 the same measure showed a 15 percent rate, and in 1981 the rate was 50 percent. To these measures we could add another 10 percent to account for those who complete the eight grades by the age of 16 or in night school. But 40 percent still do not complete the eight grades, and that is a problem! In my mind, however, the greater problem is that only 37 percent of Gypsies who complete the eight grades continues his or her education, and 60 percent of those who continue is destined to drop out. Among non-gypsies 94 percent of those who complete the eight grades continues his or her education. This is a concern because some of these youths begin wandering between the ages of 15 and 18. Well, this is the point where society cannot do much more for Gypsies. It is the Gypsies who must recognize that getting educated, acquiring a trade is important. The need for unskilled labor is decreasing, some enterprises and employers condition the employment of unskilled laborers by having completed the eight grades.

In part, the future of Gypsies hinges upon the way the government can enhance the Gypsies' progress in schooling, and in part on whether the Gypsies themselves recognize the importance of education and of acquiring a trade. There is yet another concern: even those who complete the eight grades do not take advantage of further educational opportunities. I believe that this is a matter for which society alone cannot be blamed. For centuries, Gypsy trades were handed down from father to son, they did not need education to pursue these trades, and this is what shaped their value judgments with respect to learning. This is what needs to be changed.

[Question] Has there been a change in Gypsy policies over the past years?

[Answer] Yes--and it is a change in perception. Ten years ago one could not even think about some kind of an organization, an association of Gypsies. In those days there were some who believed that such organizations would lead to the segregation of Gypsies. By now it has become accepted that Gypsies themselves may organize, and that the Gypsies themselves can enhance the development of Gypsy society from within. This change in perception is part and parcel of the democratization process of our society. As a result of this change the National Gypsy Council was formed two years ago, and subsequently, one after another county level chapters were also formed. Last year the Cultural Society of Hungarian Gypsies was established, and concurrently GYPSY NEWS saw its beginnings. Both are at their beginnings, but their most beneficial endeavour could be the mobilization of Gypsies to make an effort not to get stuck at the level of unskilled labor. There are some Gypsies who believe that Gypsies cease to be Gypsies if they study and catch up with the rest of society. I disagree with that view. Among Gypsies too, it is the one who studies who can make progress and excel. This does not mean that one must deny his origins. It is in the interest of all rational persons, whether they be Gypsies or not, to acquire culture.

12995

CSO: 2500/365



## GYPSIES, OCCASIONAL LABORERS TIED TO RISING CRIME RATE

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 13 May 87 p 5

[Interview with Dr Andras Turos, police colonel and county police chief, by Miklos Mero: "Suppression of Crime Through Social Cooperation-- Conversation with the Borsod-Abauj-Zemplen County Police Chief"]

[Text] As it became known at the MSZMP Borsod-Abauj-Zemplen County Committee meeting not too long ago: with more than 15,000 crimes committed annually, the county is among the country's most crime-ridden areas. Considering the number of violent crimes too--murder, robbery, physical harm, truculence--the region occupies the inglorious first place.

Just why in Borsod the number of crimes increases year after year was the subject of our discussion with police colonel and county police chief Dr Andras Turos.

[Answer] This situation evolved as a result of the county's situation and peculiarities. First let's take a look at the most important factor: the county's population profile. Approximately 100,000 people commute. And those who settled in the larger industrial cities: Miskolc, Ozd, Kazincbarcika and Leninvaros, did so in consideration of their livelihood only. In other words, they did not settle in those cities purely on their own volition. Although officially they became city residents, they were unable to change their lifestyles from one day to the other.

A small segment of the population took advantage of the darker sides of relatively rapid urbanization. Being unknown, losing one's personal identity favors those inclined to commit crimes. Quite a few experience uncertainties: they can no longer continue their country life, yet are unable to get accustomed to city life. Unfortunately, some of them surrendered to vice, and became vagrants and wanderers avoiding work. This is also shown by the fact that three-fourth of the criminal acts is committed in the 11 cities of the county. The composition of the county population is adversely influenced by the fact that the ratio of those with multiple disadvantages is great--more than 10 percent of the total population! The number of endangered children amounts to about 10,000.

## The Effect Of The Economy

[Question] It has been said that certain crimes are greatly influenced by the economy.

[Answer] Both the external and the internal factors that affect the county's economic units had a bearing on the criminal scene. This situation encourages those otherwise irresponsible individuals to justify illegitimate ways of obtaining money, if they cannot quickly and instantly find some kind of steady work.

[Question] Especially if one needs only an amount sufficient to get intoxicated. The County of Borsod is close to having the highest number of alcoholics. The mutual, close relationship between alcoholism and criminal conduct is well known.

[Answer] According to medical and police estimates, the number of alcoholics in the county stands at 50,000 to 60,000. Our experience shows that a substantial majority of violent crimes is being committed by intoxicated persons. Getting drunk quickly, rather than enjoying civilized entertainment is characteristic of most places of entertainment in the county. And because drunk persons are unable to control their emotions, their justified or unjustified anger and feelings of revenge, they satisfy their frustrations on the spot, by committing violent crimes. Each year the police charges 4,000 "guests" at places of entertainment with scandalous drunkardness, and almost 3,500 are taken to sobering stations.

[Question] What are the most frequent crimes?

[Answer] Crimes against property. Even within this category, crimes involving small values predominate--thefts, breaking and entering and robberies. Statistics show that personal property is the increasing target of crime. The objective reason for this is that there is an increase in the value of personal property, which, in turn, is not accompanied by the secure protection of such property. Breaking into cars, stealing from cars is a daily occurrence in Miskolc. In the course of the latter, quite frequently property valued at several tens and hundreds of thousands of forints disappears. This can be attributed to the negligence of the owners.

## Violating Public Property

[Question] There was a sudden, sharp increase within the county in crimes against social property and against the purity of economic and public life. Why is that so?

[Answer] Just as in other parts of the country, earnings have become greatly differentiated. On the other hand there are many who wish to secure an extraordinary high standard of living, we could say a luxurious lifestyle through illegal means. If they cannot accomplish this objective through work, unfortunately there are many who reach for the social property. It is primarily those who administer the common property, the "cash register" of society, who can accomplish that. Irrespective of who they are, we have prosecuted in the past, and will prosecute in the future anyone who follows this avenue.

It is commonly known that as of recent date in Borsod proceedings were initiated against several agricultural cooperative leaders, because loss operations in the cooperatives were coupled with the violation of laws and with criminal acts. They are charged with fraud, embezzlement and bribery. Last year's comprehensive audit of specialized groups revealed severe violations within a majority of these groups, in terms of financial management, accounting and documentation. There was one specialized group which committed violations in each of its 120 transactions since its establishment two years before.

[Question] There are 1,500 traffic accidents in Borsod annually. Ninety to one hundred persons lose their lives as a result. Why is the number of traffic accidents on the rise?

[Answer] Although we are using all available means to prevent this, there is an increasing number of intoxicated persons behind the steering wheel. More than two-third of all traffic-related crimes is related to drunk driving. To reduce these incidents we have a new method which perhaps may help: the names, addresses and punishment of those convicted for drunk driving are published weekly in the county newspaper. Experience so far indicates that public embarrassment has a great controlling effect.

#### Public Embarrassment

[Question] Which strata produce most criminals?

[Answer] They come from among repeat offenders, i.e the criminal element, and further, from part of the Gypsy population and from among minors. We are most disturbed about the increase in crimes committed by children and by minors. We are disturbed, because the criminal conduct of this age group must be considered from the viewpoint of the future. Each year 300-400 children, 700-900 minors, and 1,800-2,000 young adults commit crimes. The share of these age groups in all criminal activities is greater in Borsod than the national average. The reason for this may be that the upbringing and the sense of community belonging of these young people has been instilled in a less effective manner within families, schools, child-protective institutions and youth organizations. The increase in the number of repeat offenders proves that a majority of them are struggling to find their place in society, or alternatively, they do not even want to find work and thus make a living by committing crimes.

A good part of the Gypsy population did find its place in Hungarian society. Unfortunately, however, more and more are becoming vagrants and commit crimes, and pursue a licentious life-style--in the old sense of that term. In this county 18-19 percent of the criminals belong to this group, and this substantially exceeds the national average. This raises concern because criminals become involved in violent crimes, disorder, robbery, truculence, physical harm, breaking and entering, theft, etc. It is these kinds of crimes that shake most the people's sense of security.

#### Keeping In Touch With The People

[Question] What has the police done in the past, and what will it do in the future to improve the county's criminal profile?

[Answer] We endeavour to provide more determined, more active services in public places, and to improve our preparedness to act. At the county seat in particular, we deployed large forces for public security and traffic-related actions, for the conduct of raids and the control of public entertainment places. We are providing constant police presence in downtown Miskolc. Some recently introduced new forms of action became popular among the people. A special sub-division for instance, is active in Miskolc and its immediate surroundings. In the area of traffic enforcement the mobile, motorized and the originally laughed at bicycle patrol are very popular. In addition to providing more mobile services, we summon individuals who avoid work, those who constitute a public menace, as well as the vagrants. We have instituted stepped up control of potential criminal elements to limit their mobility by invoking emergency powers granted to police authorities. At our initiative, a strong fight against alcoholism in Borsod has begun. We recommended the closure of several hundred places that sell alcohol, places that have deteriorated and are undesirable from the viewpoint of public order and public security.

We consider it as our very important task to continuously strengthen community relations. It has become a tradition that leaders of police headquarters and of police subdivisions meet with large factory workers, with members of the intelligentsia, retired persons, and with broad strata of the Gypsy population, and jointly discuss things to be done as a result of the situation.

Crime prevention, the suppression of crime cannot be perceived purely as a police task. Greater results can be achieved only through joint social action. For this reason, simultaneously with our internal actions, we began building a social basis for crime prevention. In 1983-1984 we established crime prevention councils in our cities as well as at the county level. These encompass all strata of society.

12995

CSO: 2500/366



## GYPSIES CALLED RESPONSIBLE FOR HALF OF VIOLENT CRIMES

Budapest ELET ES IRCDALOM in Hungarian 8 May 87 p 10

[Book review of "The Hungarian Gypsy Issue As Found In Documents, 1422-1985," (Kossuth Publishers, 317 pages) by Laszlo Karsai and Istvan Soos: "Gypsies: History and Reality"]

[Text] Perhaps no other people on our continent were subject to as much determined prejudice and as much discrimination than the Gypsies. Ever since their first appearance on the continent 500 years ago, European consciousness attributed a rather colorful, but mostly negative, on occasion outright distorted connotation to the word "Gypsy." "Gypsy" represented a form of conduct that ran directly counter to civilized lifestyle, morals and customs, and was alien, looked down upon and despised. But "Gypsy" also represented "outlaw," and people who were willing to live only according to their own customs and laws: easily, freely, like nature's children.

The volume entitled "The Hungarian Gypsy Issue As Found In Documents, 1422-1985" has as its purpose the documentary presentation of centuries of prejudice against, and opinions formed about Hungarian Gypsies. It also has as its purpose the description of Hungarian Gypsy history. Its publication has a pioneering significance: it is a first attempt in Hungarian historical writing to provide a resource that covers virtually every important aspect of Gypsy history.

The intended thesis, or we might say the research concept and methodology of those who put this volume together (associates of the Law School, Department of Legal History at the Lorand Eotvos University of Arts and Sciences [ELTE JTK]) is to demonstrate that the Gypsy issue presented a difficult socio-political problem following liberation, just as it did prior to 1945. The primary purpose of the volume is to present documents from the realm of legal history. Regrettably, the volume does not utilize the methods of comparative historical analysis and fails to adopt an ontological and socio-historical approach. It is thus understandable that the volume reaches certain conclusions that are highly debatable.



We will limit ourselves to providing a sketch of the volume's chief problems only. Historical research data and analysis uncovered so far does not support the statements contained in the introduction. In the areas occupied by the Turks as well as within the Kingdom of Hungary Gypsies could not have been, and were not the subjects of central political or social concern. Mutatis mutandis, the same applies during the period between the two world wars. Public opinion, or more accurately the so called gentlemen's middle class, the authorities the counties and the press were attracted to other, more important problems (e.g. the outcome of the Versailles Treaties, the Jewish issue.) The attention paid to Gypsies amounted to as much as present-day attention in the United States to American Indians.

The Gypsy issue was placed on the agenda during the 18th Century. It was primarily a local socio-economic, and not a political issue, to be resolved by administrative measures. Official Gypsy policies show a clear continuity prior to 1945: the aim was to settle Gypsies, to "civilize" them, to transform the wandering Gypsies into "useful, working citizens."

In part, the authors overly exaggerate prejudices against Gypsies, and fail to reveal the real reasons and background for periodic prejudices that occurred in varying degrees of intensity, and for value judgments formed by the non-Gypsy population. Regarding the substance of the introductory statement, we feel that the endeavour to present the Gypsy issue and the related and consequent socio-political difficulties as problems for which the contemporary Hungarian societies and governments of each period bear sole and exclusive responsibility, is overstated.

Lacking international comparison, the documentary does not reveal that in 15th century Hungary and thereafter both the official approach and the public attitude toward Gypsies was far more benevolent and differentiated than elsewhere. During the same period the Western European attitude was expressly anti-Gypsy (they were viewed as the descendants of the child murderers of Betlehem, their ancestors were accused of forging the irons for the cross of Christ; they were convicted for kidnapping children and for practicing witchcraft). While the segment that covers the feudalistic period attempts to present a somewhat considered approach, the introductory part that describes the period 1867-1945 presents a fully one-sided picture of the situation. This, in spite of an introductory statement by which Hungarian public sentiment toward Gypsies prior to 1945 was far less hostile than it is today (or, for example, less hostile than the public sentiment was toward Jews during the Horthy era), even though it was difficult to grasp, define and verify the Gypsy phenomenon. Articles by people like Laszlo Endre did not create sensation. Hungarian public opinion looked down upon Gypsies with a sense of benevolent paternalism. Contrary to an introductory statement which states that there is much literature on Gypsies during the counter-revolutionary period, one can hardly find such publications, while on the other hand, the few publications that exist also include a large number of writings friendly to Gypsies.

An appropriate presentation of one of the most important concerns is missing from both the introduction and the documentation: today's prejudices are caused by fundamentally different reasons than similar sentiments prior to 1945. This concern does not stand out clearly. On the other hand, it is to

the authors' great credit that for the first time a book openly discusses the exclusion of Gypsies after 1945. Stated in a more refined manner: the Gypsies were left out of agrarian reform. In contrast, the volume fails to provide an in-depth analysis of the fact that while forced and forceful collectivization and industrialization objectively favored a significant segment of the Gypsy population, it also produced anti-Gypsy sentiments in those who suffered by virtue of collectivization and industrialization. In reading the introduction and the documents of the post-1945 era, one cannot see clearly the magnitude and quality of the tremendous, decisively negative change that evolved in the area of anti-Gypsy sentiments. While it is not worth touching upon overtly racist prejudices supported by scant statistical data, (such as those pertaining to visions of national death and to a dramatic reduction in the Hungarian population,) the concept of "Gypsy criminality" so called, deserves a few sober words.

Introductory statements pertaining to today's Gypsy criminality do not substantially enhance the understanding of the problem. The reader is supposed to accept a few pieces of data rather than fully reasoned arguments. Unfortunately, Gypsies do commit crimes in Hungary today, and their crimes are not only those usually committed by the "poor." There are 400,000-410,000 Gypsies in Hungary today. Only a fraction of these, 1,000-1,500 families --give or take 25,000-30,000 individuals--may be viewed as committed and incorrigible, "professional," "repeat" criminals. According to data gathered by National Police Headquarters, only 7-9 percent of all criminals is Gypsy, on the other hand, a significant part of those who commit the most serious crimes (truculence, robbery, murder, rape--in other words the crimes that shock the public most) are Gypsies. In 1985, 54 percent of those convicted for murder or rape were Gypsies. The same percentage rate applicable to those convicted for robbery stood at 48.8 percent.

The authors are jurists. It is thus understandable that in the course of archival searches their attention was not drawn to documents that pertain to the social stratification, occupational structure and lifestyle of Gypsies. It would have been useful perhaps to include the most characteristic pieces of 18th and 19th century Gypsy census data and some county documents, (such as citizen complaints and reports from gendarmes, policemen and medical officials.) Criminological, and on occasion demographic presentations selected by the authors, as well as the publication of official orders, laws and party resolutions that pertain to Gypsies did not prove to be sufficient from the viewpoint of presenting Gypsy history.

It is characteristic of the volume that it barely mentions Gypsy musicians in their capacity of official entertainers of the gentlemen's middle class--as the indispensable support cast to gentry lifestyle, in operettas and in movies. Even Bela Bartok ventured to write this much about Gypsy musicians in 1931: 'The half-educated, urban and urban-like masses need a mass-produced product, and let us rejoice that at least in the realm of music these masses demand a mass-produced product that bears the label: 'Made in Hungary.' This product is Gypsy music ... We do not want Gypsy musicians to perish. To the contrary. We hope that Gypsy musicians can stand fast against the onslaught of jazz and schraml music ... they should not mix waltzes, chansons, jazz and other things into their repertoire.'

Some other documents too were regretfully omitted from this volume. These would have demonstrated the inventiveness and the trickery of wandering Gypsies by which they frustrated rules that stood in the way of their lifestyle. It would have been interesting to show how they obtained birth certificates, certifications of good moral standing, and wandering tradesmen's permits by frequently taking advantage of the benevolence or carelessness of local authorities.

A further characteristic mistake is the unquestioning approach taken with respect to existing subject literature. Most of the bibliography cited in the introduction is either obsolete, or, regarding its historical value was of low quality from the beginning. In some of the documents translated from the German or from the Latin there is a multitude of mistakes that appears disruptive to comprehension (e.g. the term "salvus conductus" is translated into "letter of asylum," rather than "passport".) The reason for such mistakes and misinterpretations may be that these documents were not translated from the original into Hungarian, instead, without further checking, the authors accepted interpretations rendered elsewhere. It is apparent that the authors themselves are uncertain with respect to concepts like "intimatum," "patens," "resolutio," etc. We were unable to figure out what exactly the authors meant by the concept "reigning decisions"--a term unknown to professionals. The principle by which sources are classified in the first part as primary sources and "other documents" is equally unclear. An editorial practice followed throughout the volume, one that sets aside even the simplest system of chronological ordering, disturbs reading, let alone comprehension. In this vein, for instance, a 1943 document is followed by one from 1940, then comes one from 1944, followed by a fourth document from 1932, all dealing with the same subject ...

Still today, Hungarian historians are long overdue with the production of a monographic history of Hungarian Gypsies. Perhaps for this reason it would have been worthwhile to quote from the Kemeny group's mostly unpublished sociological analyses of Gypsies. In addition to party resolutions, these should have been included in the section that deals with the post-1945 era. Works pertaining to Gypsies, including the present volume, have so far failed to present a sophisticated study of the past and the present situation of Gypsies. Literary works dealing with the subject are still divided on whether Gypsies should be viewed as a nation, an ethnic group or a social stratum.

Having seen and learned all this, it seems as even more unfortunate that a book was published whose mistakes and shortcomings in perspective, methodology and content could have been avoided. The book itself is well-intentioned. The mistakes and shortcomings could have been avoided had the publisher observed the method consistently followed by publishers of historical works for decades: manuscripts should be evaluated by lecturers who happen to be historians.

12995  
CSO: 2500/365



## EDUCATION OF GYPSY CHILDREN CALLED INADEQUATE

Budapest ELET ES IRODALOM in Hungarian 15 May 87 p 7

[Interview with Gyongyi Racz, subject expert, National Education Institute, by Jozsef Kovacs: "Not A Nationality, Not A Minority"]

[Text] How many Gypsies are there in Hungary, how many of them still continue their lives in a tribal setting? Why don't we know their history and their culture, what kind of minority status do Gypsies have in Hungary after having been here for centuries? The most important question among the great number of questions pertains to the upbringing of Gypsy children. Their initial trials that profoundly influence their fate and their future take place in kindergarten and at school. How are they affected, how large an obstacle must they contend with when they embark upon this road? The expert on this societal issue, and since 1981, the expert on this subject at the National Education Institute is Gyongyi Racz. She is an engineer, an economist and a teacher, and because of her origins, fate and works, she is a representative of Gypsies with a sense of vocation.

[Question] We hear of and read studies and assessments about the underprivileged on a daily basis. A large majority of Gypsy children is definitely underprivileged. How many Gypsy children in Hungary should be considered underprivileged?

[Answer] Statistical data amassed by the Ministry of Culture and Education unequivocally require that only those children be recorded as Gypsies whose lifestyle is characteristic of Gypsies. This represents a living condition whose characteristics have yet to be defined. The children are Gypsies by virtue of their ethnic origin, rather than as a result of their lifestyle. Within the institutional educational setting their number amounts to approximately 100,000. Upon arrival at one of the educational institutions, a child starts out with a marker that says "defective," and this marker will accompany the child throughout his school years. This is a clearly disadvantageous classification for a child.

[Question] Are you making continuous assessments as to how many of the Gypsy children complete the eight grades of elementary education?

[Answer] Unfortunately, many of them do not begin their studies at the obligatory age. In first grade 40 percent of the Gypsy children repeat that grade. According to statistics, 30-40 percent of those enrolled at the appropriate age complete the eight grades.

[Question] Which stratum of Gypsy society is it in which children and families are most endangered?

[Answer] The "Romungro-s" (Hungarian Gypsies) have lived with Hungarians for centuries, and thus a significant adaptability has evolved on both parts. Most Olah Gypsies using Gypsy as their native language arrived in Hungary at the turn of the century, and thus their experience in coexistence is smaller. Their circumstances were the worst. They lived in Gypsy settlements, excluded from society, as if they had been homeless. In our days too, Gypsies residing in Gypsy settlements may be viewed as homeless people. There has not even been a linguistic assimilation. They are unable to help their children to learn Hungarian. It is a significant concern that the Gypsy language is not a recognized native language in Hungary.

[Question] Much is said about advance preparation for school. Especially regarding children who did not go to kindergarten. Is there some specialized preparation for these children?

[Answer] The public education development program clearly states that beginning at age 3, children have a right to go to kindergarten. Gypsy children must not be left out of this program. Going to kindergarten would enable them to continuously participate in school work.

[Question] In the end, what is the reason for the general failure of enrolling Gypsy children in kindergartens?

[Answer] The settlements and small villages in which a majority of Gypsies live are economically and socially backward. There is no kindergarten in more than 800 villages. Cultural concerns did not reach the merits of the issue of educating Gypsy children, because the provisions of these services in Hungary is under the councils' pervue. The institutional setting for teaching Gypsy children, and the educators who could teach the Gypsy children are missing in places where basic service delivery issues remain unresolved. For the first time the Ministry of Culture and Education provides budgeted support for basic service delivery. Assessments of the past two years indicate that Gypsy children were unable to enter kindergarten even in places where kindergartens do exist. There was not enough room, and only the children of those families were admitted where both parents worked. The Education Law has changed this situation.

[Question] What are the most frequent concerns for educators dealing with Gypsy children?

[Answer] A significant part of the Gypsy population resides in villages with less than 500 inhabitants. These are places where the educator is one of the representatives of the leading intelligentsia. The educator's view largely contributes to the establishment of the local environment in the decision



making process that affects Gypsy society. From a societal viewpoint it appeared as progressive that in the last elections some Gypsy council members were elected, even though in small numbers, at a rate disproportionate to the total number of Gypsies. It is for this reason that within the system of council apparatuses the essential problems that affect Gypsy society as a whole, including their children, are not being assigned an appropriate weight. Only a very few are familiar with the ethnic history of Gypsies, with the Gypsies' place in the present social system. Hungary is the homeland of Gypsies residing in Hungary, their citizenship is Hungarian. Gypsies are not a nationality, they are not a minority.

[Question] According to official definitions they are an ethnic group.

[Answer] In reality, however, they are viewing Gypsies as a backward, disadvantaged stratum of Hungarian society, one that has nothing but adverse characteristics. How should an educator conduct himself in a situation like this, especially if he is not trained in sociology, and does not have a perspective of society? It is incumbent upon the leadership having jurisdiction to develop a comprehensive socio-political concept which reflects Gypsy society on the basis of knowing the circumstances. What is needed is this: at every educational level Gypsy children should receive a proportionate budgetary share in each academic class, irrespective of their present level of enrollment in kindergarten or at school. This would be the most important accomplishment.

[Question] Would you consider it as significant if well-trained Gypsy educators would deal with Gypsy children? Just how important is the preparation of young Gypsy and non-Gypsy educators for this extremely difficult task that demands empathy?

[Answer] An action plan and tasks have been developed within the Ministry of Culture and Education, yet, the subject is the responsibility of one person in the National Education Institute. In the Ministry's view the main question is not whether a child is a Gypsy. Their main concerns are the institutional and material conditions in which the child exists. In my view, this approach makes the development of a perspective difficult, because it does not take into consideration the Gypsy society's ability to move and to act. A real change in approach would mean that Gypsy children and Hungarian children would establish relationships of mutuality, in the course of their joint upbringing they would be enriched with each other's values. This issue is still unresolved. Under the present system the educator too is disadvantaged: his concerns are not heard by anyone, there is no institutional approach to these concerns. Under the auspices of the National Education Institute, for the first time in 1986, the educators received continued education regarding the peculiarities of Gypsy ethnicity.

[Question] To what extent are 6 years old school age children affected by linguistic and adaptation difficulties, or by a possible home environment that is not stimulating?

[Answer] Gypsy society is an ethnic group which was deprived of an opportunity to demonstrate its values in the course of history. Gypsy society should

be judged at its merits, or, stated differently: society at large will have an ethical right to judge Gypsy society at its merits only after Gypsy society has gone through the institutional educational process ordained by society at large.

[Question] There is constant debate about the need for Gypsy classes. Is this a valid issue?

[Answer] Gypsy classes and Gypsy kindergartens are not part of the school system as a whole, they fall short of the fundamental requirements. The educators in Gypsy schools are not above average, therefore a counter-selective process prevails and the children are squeezed outside of the educational process. These institutions were established by a ministerial order in 1962. The order provided for the establishment of the best institutional, material and personnel conditions, and for a 15 to 1 student-teacher ratio. In reality, however, the educators received no advance preparation at all as to how to teach Gypsy children. Gypsy children became over-age with increasing frequency and their education is ineffective as a result.

[Question] Is it possible to make up for the disadvantages, for the falling behind from present-day educational requirements experienced by those going to auxiliary schools? Is illiteracy being recreated?

[Answer] The new Education Law presents new concerns from the viewpoint of the future of Gypsy children. The law provides that a child is obliged to go to school, can enter school before the age of 8.3 years. When are Gypsy children going to enter school? Up to the age of 8.3 years they are not considered as having lost time, yet they are capable of completing only four or five years. Ninety percent of them enters schools known as "auxiliary schools" from the elementary schools. This is how we say it now: they are entering the special education classes of elementary schools. In these classes, however, Gypsy children cause functional disturbances because the teachers in this type of institution are prepared to, and specialize in teaching retarded children. The tragedy occurs when a child who is not mentally retarded becomes mentally retarded in this setting. It is bad enough that the child is a Gypsy. Now he becomes a "special education" case. Illiteracy and partial education will reproduce itself as long as 90 to 95 percent of Gypsies fail to complete eighth grade education.

[Question] Fifty percent of children in state custody are Gypsies, (whereas Gypsies constitute only 5 percent of society.) Is there any kind of occupation in these homes that teaches Gypsy children how to get along in life, how to adapt?

[Answer] The educational system does not take into consideration the Gypsies' ethnic traditions, culture and peculiar family structure. Even today, several generations live together within Gypsy families. Their lifestyle and outlook is more candid, more open. Children are active participants in family life, they have close ties to their parents, to their brothers and sisters and even to more distant relatives. This fact is not yet integrated into the educational process. Child protection operates the same way. They simply disregard this issue.

[Question] Is there a targeted endeavour that could shape parents and families together with the children? Is there a possibility of forming Gypsy "parents' work associations"?

[Answer] Only those who possess basic, general culture are capable of controlling their lives within social processes. Ninety percent of heads of households are unskilled laborers, whose children did not continuously attend kindergarten. Their situation at the elementary school is akin to building a multi-story building without first laying the foundations. A majority of the young is forced to pursue certain careers because completion of the eighth grade is the condition for training in one of the trades.

[Question] How do you view the endeavours aimed at the schooling and upbringing of Gypsy children?

[Answer] Last April at the Regional Conference of Young Gypsies at Ozd some mainly occupational issues were raised. At Ozd 30 percent of the population is Gypsy. During the past years four mines were closed down, and the foundry industry too reduced its workforce. They are unable to offer new occupations to Gypsies either: only 10 percent of the Gypsy youth studies at the intermediate level. A large majority receives training in a specialized trade but half of them leave in the course of training. One could not even estimate the ratio of Gypsies in higher education. There are no records. Perhaps they feel that it no longer makes a difference whether one is a Gypsy or not if he reached that point. This too reflects the bias: only those count as Gypsies who pursue a lifestyle characteristic of "Gypsies."

12995  
CSO: 2500/366

END

**END OF**

**FICHE**

**DATE FILMED**

29, Sept 1987